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PUBLISHED BY THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE MIDDLE WEST AND
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ENGLAND AND THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE PACIFIC STATES

Volume XXXIV

JANUARY, 1939

Number 4

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THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL

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Editorial

AGAIN THE NEWSPAPERS

As time goes on we are more and more impressed with the desirability of having our energetic and forceful leaders in classics take full advantage of newspaper friendship and publicity.¹ We are reminded of the good work of Essie Hill,² of Little Rock, and W. J. Chapitis, of Menasha, Wisconsin,³ and now we wish to record the unusual accomplishment of Jonah W. D. Skiles at Louisville. This champion of the classics secured the opinions of the leaders of Kentucky about Latin. He purposely avoided asking teachers, especially teachers of Latin. Instead, he went to James B. Hill, the president of the Louisville and Nashville Railway, to Senator Alvin W. Barkley, to Mary Anderson, actress, to Harrison Robertson, editor of the *Courier-Journal*, to Tom Wallace, editor of the *Louisville Times*, and to many others of outstanding position, and asked them what they thought of Latin and Greek. These replies he published in a feature article of the Sunday edition of the Louisville *Courier-Journal* of April 10, covering almost a whole page, with pictures of six outstanding Kentuckians spread across the entire top of the page.

To those who are in a position to do a like service for the classics in their own communities we should like to suggest that they write

¹ Cf. CLASSICAL JOURNAL XXXIII, 449.

² In the *Arkansas Gazette* (Little Rock), Sunday, March 28, 1937, pp. 1 and 16 of the Magazine Section.

³ Cf. CLASSICAL JOURNAL XXXIII, 560. (We regret that this item was headed "Madison" instead of "Menasha.")

to Mr. Skiles (1745 Deer Lane, Louisville, Kentucky) for a copy of the page of which we have spoken together with any practical advice he may be able to give, and then adapt his methods to their own particular conditions. By such activities the local Latin teacher may find himself at the head of a greater and a more influential group than he suspected—a group that is ready to revolt against the superficiality and sham of the "easy way" to an education.

E. T.

THE VERGILIAN SOCIETY

By JOHN FRANCIS LATIMER
The George Washington University

In the year 1930 the bimillennium of Vergil's birth was celebrated throughout the entire world. Scholars, teachers, students, and laymen united to honor the memory of one who has for centuries been acclaimed and revered as one of the great poetic geniuses of all time. On the radio and the editorial page, in special publications and speeches, fond memories of the poet were revived among thousands of sympathetic listeners and readers, for whom the very name of Vergil was symbolic of poetry and of Rome. Rarely, if ever, has any poet been so universally admired, studied, and loved. Rarely, if ever, has the celebration of any author's birth and works been so enthusiastically received.

It seemed fitting, therefore, that an organization should be formed which should seek not only to perpetuate the poet's memory but also to promote the study of that language of which his poetry is the noblest treasure, and to bring about a further exchange of cultural ties and interests between two great nations of the world.

Accordingly, in the summer of 1937 Professor Amedeo Maiuri, the eminent Italian archaeologist, and Director of the National Museum at Naples, proposed to a small group of American scholars and teachers traveling and studying in Italy the formation of a VERGILIAN SOCIETY. The idea was acted upon immediately. To facilitate the promotion of the organization the group proceeded to elect Professor Maiuri president, and to set up two committees, one in Italy, and one in America. The chairman of the Italian Committee was Dr. G. Consoli,¹ who was also made general secre-

¹ Deceased, September 8, 1938.

tary. To serve with him, Dr. Olga Elia, of the National Museum, and Dr. M. Della Corte, the well-known authority on Pompeian inscriptions, were chosen. As chairman of the American Committee Dr. E. L. Highbarger, of Northwestern University, was chosen; for the other members Dr. Casper J. Kraemer, Jr.,² of New York University, Dr. George E. Duckworth, of Princeton University, Dr. John F. Gummere, of the William Penn Charter School, Miss Ellen Alice Muir, of the Oak Park High School, and the writer. The Hon. William Phillips, American Ambassador to Italy, agreed to serve as honorary president, and Mrs. Breckinridge C. Long, wife of the former ambassador to Italy, as honorary vice president.

Although the effects of the depression were still being felt, it was thought that the Society could best serve its purpose by the publication of a bulletin devoted exclusively to Vergilian research and to articles and papers dealing with the topography and archaeology of places associated with Vergil and his poetry. In this bulletin we likewise contemplated the publication of papers of an aesthetic and appreciative nature. The first issue of *Vergilius*, the name chosen for the bulletin, appeared late in the spring of 1938, and contained articles by Dr. Maiuri, the late Dr. Frank Justus Miller, Dr. Elia, Dr. Mustilli, and Miss Laura Bayne Woodruff. It met with a very favorable reception and work was immediately begun on the second number, which is to be published in January of 1939. Applications for membership in the Society began to come in, and at this writing over one hundred and fifty scholars, teachers, students, and laymen have joined. The number is steadily increasing, and the prospects seem most encouraging.

Members of the Society who travel in Italy will be given special facilities for study and research in various national museums and libraries in Italy. Those who wish a quiet place for study and rest will find the *Villa Vergiliana* near Cumae, which was opened last summer, at their disposal.

Membership in the Society, which includes a subscription to

² Resigned. Dr. Russel M. Geer, of Tulane University, has been elected to take his place.

Vergilius, deserves, we believe, the thoughtful consideration of all those who are interested in promoting the study of the classics. Under whose aegis could the advocates of the classics better muster and marshal their forces than under that of Vergil? The enduring quality of his thought, the majestic music of his words, contain a timeless message and inspiration, which should become increasingly an integral part of our national heritage.

FURTHER REFLECTIONS ON THE FORGOTTEN STUDENT¹

By MARY B. McELWAIN
Smith College

When Herbert Spencer in 1861 propounded his momentous question, "What Knowledge is of Most Worth?" and answered it by an exposition of the thesis that the study of science is of some worth to some people, he said:

To prepare us for complete living is the function which education has to discharge, and the only rational mode of judging of an educational course is to judge in what degree it discharges such functions.

Fifty-five years later Dr. Abraham Flexner asked:²

Are there conceivable or imaginable or actual ways of disciplining the mind that are—shall we say—less slow, less uncertain, to some persons at least less repugnant, than Latin? Is it possible to get any mental discipline through subjects that have also other uses or advantages?

The General Education Board, influenced largely by Dr. Flexner and President Eliot, then gave its support³ to an "experiment in the education of youth in this country, which, if successful, will mean practically the complete modernization of elementary and secondary schools." The guiding principle was that education was to be "better adapted to the needs of common life than is the curriculum now in general use." Latin and Greek would of course disappear. Formal discipline was to be discarded. The modern lan-

¹ "The Forgotten Student" appeared in the *Smith Alumnae Quarterly*, May, 1937. By the student is meant one "who acquires knowledge by effort, who meditates, who fixes the mind closely on a subject."

² "Parents and Schools," *The Atlantic Monthly*, July, 1916.

³ The *N. Y. Times*, January 21, 1917.

guages were to be stressed. Science, industry, and the domestic arts were to be prominent.

With this authoritative encouragement a wave of "reform" deluged the country, engulfing in its sweep not only the "repugnant" classics but mathematics, formal grammar, memorizing, home work, distasteful tasks of all kinds, and left in its wake a plethora of modern devices designed to prepare the youth of the country for "complete living" by pleasant and painless methods; projects, games, songs, pictorial textbooks, educational "movies," simplified texts, "predigested foods of all sorts" appeared in quick succession, and educators were as busy as Dido's Tyrians intent on building Carthage. Curricula of studies in schools and colleges have been revised and re-revised *ad nauseam*; questionable educational experiments have been lavishly financed; experts have been found waiting to advise in every field; psychologists have accommodat-ingly produced a crop of cabalistic letter-groups second only to those of the United States Government; "remedials" have been provided as "first aids"; prospective teachers have been steeped in courses of pedagogy, and applicants for admission to colleges are evaluated in terms of I. Q., P. Q., S. A. T., and the like, instead of by the standards once said to have been thus set forth by a New England College:⁴

When any scholar is able to understand Tulley or such like Latine author extempore and make and speak true Latine in verse and prose . . . and decline . . . the paradigms of nounes and verbes in the Greek tongue, let him then be capable of admission.

And the end is not yet! Verily the mountains have labored and brought forth—what? Is it perhaps in place for us now to inquire, and to consider the state of the subject of all this activity, the well-nigh forgotten student?

The answers to the proposed inquiry come from many quarters—from the academic world, the world of letters, the world of business; from parents and students; from individuals and organizations; from the older and the younger; and their combined effect should have some weight in a consideration of the purposes and

⁴ From a letter of G. Harris Danzberger to the *N. Y. Times*, May 1, 1938.

essentials of an education and of the adaptability of present methods to the attainment of desired ends.

The first testimony is properly taken from college and university presidents, and I begin with one of the newest of these. In his inaugural address at Cornell University President Day said:

In some ways it is strange that it should be necessary to reaffirm that the primary function of a university is to promote the intellectual life. . . . Young people are quite naturally interested in getting ready to earn a living. . . . It is difficult if not impossible for many of them to accept the principle that the best preparation for a given occupation may be general training designed to increase less specialized skills and abilities, and that the largest vocational asset that they can possibly acquire is the largest growth of intellectual power they can individually achieve.

President Seymour, in addressing the Association of American Universities at Brown said:⁵

I know of no evidence to indicate that a man will make a better Secretary of the Interior or a better Collector of Customs or a better citizen, as a result of having concentrated upon the study of government than if he had concentrated on the Greek and Latin classics. . . . These [the humanities] are the fields that must be maintained and developed not merely because of our obligation to learning in the abstract, but because of our responsibility for the national civilization. If our liberal colleges should become anything like schools of contemporary social science, we run the risk of cultural disaster.

President Conant in an address before the Association of American Colleges said:⁶ "The colleges whose students show real intellectual vigor are those which provide many stiff courses in difficult subjects"; and in *School and Society*⁷ he wrote:

The equivalent of the old classical discipline is not to be found in a bowing acquaintance with universal history and general science and an exposure to scattered examples of art and literature.

President Valentine at a meeting of the American Council on Education said:⁸

Thousands of school teachers with little education have been turning out hundreds of thousands of school graduates with less education and so on

⁵ Cf. *Classical Weekly*, March 28, 1938; *CLASSICAL JOURNAL* XXXIII (1937-38), 540-542. ⁶ Association of American Colleges Bulletin XXIII.

⁷ Sept. 26, 1936. ⁸ *N. Y. Times*, May 8, 1938.

into the next generation. And as the quality of education declines, the assumption that the nation is educated mounts. Part of this decline in quality results in over-emphasis upon training teachers in teaching techniques. Training teachers is useful, but it is no substitute for educating them. Potential teachers after they have jumped through the hoops of so many hours of educational psychology (which is certainly not education and frequently not psychology) and then chinned themselves so many times on the bar of practice teaching are accepted as technically qualified to teach a subject they have had no time to master. The measure of professional skill in a teacher is the ability to teach successfully. Professors Whitehead, Bliss Perry, Kittredge, and Tinker possess professional skill, yet not one of them could, or would, qualify professionally to teach in the public schools of their state.

Of Dr. R. E. Blackwell, the late president of Randolph-Macon, it was said:⁹ "He had one maxim which he shared with Dr. Basil Gildersleeve. His entire teaching career was based upon it: First, know thy subject; second, love thy students; and third, have common sense."

To pass from college and university presidents to school superintendents, we have these words from Dr. Harold G. Campbell:¹⁰

Civilization, as it grows more complex, will be more than ever dependent upon the men who know the laws of mathematics and the formulas of science, upon men who, having studied the history of mankind, know the relationship of the present to the past, upon men who can write and men who can speak the languages of other men. In truth, civilization will be more than ever dependent upon the very subjects that are included in the traditional curriculum for a general education. . . . The confusion came when pedagogy veered to the left and urged that education should no longer consist of what the best judgment of the centuries had agreed to be of permanent value, but rather what modern youth in his infinite wisdom might think would be valuable.

In addressing the American Classical League last June, Mr. A. S. Chenoweth, superintendent of Atlantic City's public schools, said:¹¹

Classical scholars must come out from their delightful retreat and share the fruits of their intellectual labors with others, [taking a hand in the making of]

⁹ *N. Y. Times*, July 8, 1938.

¹⁰ Quoted from "A Letter to Latin Teachers," sent out by the State Education Department at Albany, New York, July 11, 1937.

¹¹ *N. Y. Times*, June 29, 1938.

the leaders of today and the leaders of tomorrow, who will be better leaders if they have some knowledge of the classical background. Intellectual aristocracy is the hope of democracy, and without it there will be no democracy worthy of the name.

From the wealth of professorial utterance it is possible to cull but a few samples. These are taken from fields other than the classics. At a meeting in Northampton, Professor Harry H. Glick, of the Department of Psychology at Massachusetts State College, asserted¹² that the values of life have been measured too much in terms of science and too little by ordinary common sense:

It is time for education to break away from the psychology of free expression and non-suppression. A good old-fashioned spanking, though scientifically wrong, will probably go further toward molding good character than the theories of behavioristic psychology.

Dr. Wm. Bagley, Professor of Education at Teachers' College uttered this warning¹³ some years ago:

We should recognize clearly that a school system characterized by loose standards and dominated by educational theories that in effect open wide the lines of least resistance is likely to compound rather than to correct such social ills as find expression in our heavy crime ratios, our abnormally high and rapidly mounting divorce rates, and the apparently increasing prevalence of political corruption. In some of these schools disrespect and even insolence toward teachers must be tolerated on the theory that the impulses of children must not be repressed.

Dr. Edwin S. Place, Professor of Romance Languages at Northwestern University, recently charged¹⁴ that many of America's high schools are being converted into kindergartens. He based his criticism on what he said was a steady trend, nation wide in scope, against the teaching of mathematics and modern languages in high schools, and deplored "a tendency to avoid discipline that involved thinking on the part of the pupil—not to mention memory."

Professor Wm. Lynch, Professor of Physics at Fordham University, in a letter to the *Times* wrote:¹⁵

There has been, and in some quarters still is, a tendency to build an elaborate superstructure on a flimsy foundation that cannot support it. . . . It is the

¹² *Hampshire Gazette*, April 21, 1938.

¹³ *N. Y. Times*, July 24, 1931.

¹⁴ *N. Y. Times*, April 6, 1938.

¹⁵ April 10, 1938.

writer's experience that most high-school graduates today are sadly lacking in the three fundamental R's. If more time were given to English and elementary mathematics, and less to advanced physical science, the students would be better grounded for a college training. . . . It is not an exaggeration to say that many high-school students know the laws of physics in a visual way but cannot express them in grammatical form. Many freshmen in physics are hopelessly lost when confronted with the simplest arithmetical and algebraic problems. . . . The best training a high school can give boy or girl for any walk in life is a classical training. The history of the physical sciences is replete with the names of outstanding physicists and chemists who at the same time were accomplished classical scholars.

So much for the strictly academic world. What are the views of those not actually engaged in education?

From an editorial in the *New York Times*¹⁶ I quote the following:

It is extraordinary, when one comes to think of it, that people should have adopted unlimited self-expression for children to prepare them for a co-operative, collectivized world. Business men must be regulated, but not kindergartens; there the rule is *laissez-faire*. And yet a look around the world today would suggest that we cannot begin too early to teach children self-control and tolerance and consideration for others. The new education is beset by the fear of stunting the child's personality. Actually there are too many unstunted personalities running loose in the world.

And recently in *Time*¹⁷ appeared an article which reads in part: Compulsion, in and of itself, may be desirable. It cannot be true that the entire adult population of the globe, which, in so far as it was educated at all, was educated by compulsion, suffered needlessly. A long line of Little-Red-Schoolhouse-taught Senators and Generals and Presidents answers, No. Discipline is necessary to the human soul, and compulsion is necessary to discipline. It follows that Latin and Greek should be required for the B.A. degree.

The June issue of the CLASSICAL JOURNAL contained an excerpt from "A Parents' Revolt" by Dorothy Thompson. The revolt which she prophesies has happily already begun, as is evidenced by this extract¹⁸ from a letter of an outraged mother:

Language cannot be mastered without a certain amount of learning or memorizing. I speak whereof I know. I spent the summer trying to inculcate all the things my daughter had not learned in the last two years in a progressive

¹⁶ April 28, 1937. ¹⁷ February 28, 1938 (reprint from 1923).

¹⁸ *N. Y. Times*, Oct. 17, 1937.

school, so that she would not have to drop back a year in changing to a non-progressive school. Whenever I suggested that she had not learned anything, she would sneer: "Oh! you mean memorized!" May I, pagan nurtured in a creed outworn, member of that society of memorizers, Phi Beta Kappa, suggest that anyone who has ever tried to learn anything has found that there are certain fundamentals which must be memorized? And from my experience—not vicarious—with progressive school children, I would say that if there was too much emphasis on memorizing in the past, there is much too little now.

From the world of letters it is of course not surprising that we should have abundant testimony to the value of training in those subjects which have been the inspiration of all literature. And I regret that I can again give but samples. "Latin," says Wm. Lyon Phelps,¹⁹ "is the best general foundation of all cultural studies; it is a closed subject, firm, fixed, unalterable. No new discovery can make it obsolete or of no account. Furthermore it is still the hallmark of an educated man or woman."

Mr. Phelps's words "firm, fixed, unalterable" were recalled to me last June by a conversation which I had with Josephine Dodge Daskam Bacon. She spoke with emphasis and conviction:

The thing the young people of today need is something that is always *there*—the Dative; something that they have to *learn*, that is not a matter of *opinion*, that is not growing or changing but is fixed. . . . Pound in the classics! Then those who have no bright thoughts of their own will at least have an education; the others will have this in addition.

In Alfred Noyes' *Voltaire*²⁰ the following letter appears:

Do you know Latin, Madame? No? That is why you ask me if I like Pope better than Vergil. Ah! Madame, all our modern tongues are dry, poor, and without harmony in comparison with our first great masters, the Greeks and Romans. We are only country fiddles. . . . I believe Pope's *Essay on Man* is the first of the didactic or philosophic poems, but not to be placed near Vergil. You know him by translations, but poets cannot be translated. How can one translate music? I am very sorry, Madame, that with your taste and enlightened spirit, you cannot read Vergil!

And last of all in this field I quote from the *Olive Tree*²¹ of Aldous Huxley:

¹⁹ By permission of the Geo. Matthew Adams Service, *N. Y. Herald-Tribune*, 1937.

²⁰ Page 432. ²¹ Page 42.

In the past the minds of cultured Europeans were shaped and shored up by the Bible and the Greek and Latin classics. Men's philosophy of life tended to crystallize itself in phrases from the *Gospels* or the *Odes* of Horace, from the *Iliad* or the *Psalms*. Job and Sappho, Juvenal and the Preacher gave style to their despairs, their loves, their indignations, their cynicisms. . . . Today most of us resemble Shakespeare in at least one important respect; we know little Latin and less Greek. Even the Bible is becoming, if not a closed, at any rate a very rarely opened book. St. Paul and the Psalmist have gone the way of Vergil and Horace. What authors have taken their place? Whose words support contemporary men and women? The answer is that there exists no single set of authoritative books. The common ground of all the western cultures has slipped away from under our feet.

When we pass from the field of letters to the so-called "practical" world, the world of business, of finance, of invention, of scientific research, we hear echoes of these sentiments, from which I select a few:

Mr. Thomas Lamont, of the firm of J. Pierpont Morgan, wrote me: "The real student is always needed and to my mind the classics do more to develop him than any other single study."

Mr. Walter Lichtenstein, Vice-President of the First National Bank of Chicago, wrote:

What needs to be taught in the elementary grades is the need for pupils to think clearly and logically; in other words the four educational processes of which President Eliot speaks. I believe that classics and mathematics can probably do more to develop these traits in a pupil than any other subject taught.

Mr. Charles McKew Parr, of the Electrical Corporation of New York says:

I myself had only a technical education, but from reading and travel I came to appreciate the direct and uninterrupted support that our present civilization receives from classical culture. . . . I was well over forty before I took a four-year home-study course in Greek at Columbia. . . . When we selected a certain excellent preparatory school for our two sons, I found that there was no Greek department and I prevailed upon the headmaster to form a Greek class. . . . I will also say that from a purely utilitarian point of view I know of no study better qualified [than Greek] to steel and train a man to meet the practical problems of this world.

A Smith College alumna, now working with one of our large publishing houses wrote me:

As I sat there meditating on academic requirements, it occurred to me that my study of Greek had taken me into all the so-called major learning areas at one time or another—the beginnings of mathematics, science, philosophy, religion, literature, history, art, civics, and hygiene. If any one wants to know, I'd be glad to put up my right hand and swear that if I had known in 1921 that I'd be here writing advertising, I would have gone right ahead and majored in Greek. I cannot think of any way that I could have got as much breadth and depth at the same time.

And like testimony is offered by this story:²²

A waitress at the Harvard Union has submitted a manuscript to a Boston newspaper defending liberal education against the more recent vocational courses. . . . She reports that her practical education has been of no use to her in the depression, but that the philosophy of a cultural course has saved her. "But for that I would have gone crazy since my graduation in 1931. As it is, I have twice the strength of the girls with whom I work, I have twice the resources to meet difficult situations. I have twice the capacity for profiting from my job. I have the ability to fill up every leisure moment with something that is beautiful, good, or true, and I have kept my mental balance because of that ability.

The views set forth above come from representative men and women in widely different fields who believe in the cultural, disciplinary, and practical values of classical studies as the best foundation on which to build a successful life. It will now perhaps not be amiss to apply Herbert Spencer's "only rational mode of judging of an educational course" in an attempt to see "in what degree" the modern system of education actually prepares for "complete living." Is the abandonment of disciplinary courses and the discarding of formal discipline proving an asset or a liability? Are the modern languages being stressed? Has the prominence given to science, industry, and the domestic arts resulted in practical usefulness and general well-being? Answers to these questions are too constantly appearing in our current literature to be disregarded by thoughtful people. In the annual report²³ on "Co-operative Education," put out by the Board of Education of New York City candidates for positions were advised to be well equipped with a good foundation in general education as well as with speed and

²² *N. Y. Times*, Jan. 3, 1933. Quoted by permission of the *Times* and the North American Newspaper Alliance.

²³ *N. Y. Times*, July 2, 1938.

accuracy in specific skills; and they were warned that large numbers of students have been rejected on pre-employment tests because of poor arithmetic.

W. Averell Harriman,²⁴ Chairman of the Board of the Union Pacific Railroad, said of college men and the railroad business: The chief handicap a college boy has is in the hard transition. He has been used to having things pretty easy. He has been studying broad subjects. To be compelled to occupy himself with the monotonous details he finds when he starts with a railroad is pretty grinding.

Dr. Alexis Carrel²⁵ in a Phi Beta Kappa address at Dartmouth charged that

industrial civilization had committed the sin of almost exclusively developing specialists, men incapable of the "strenuous mental efforts" necessary to synthesize all the data within the consciousness of the individual.

As to the modern languages, besides their decline noted by Professor Place, we now learn²⁶ that a new approach to teaching them is to be experimentally tried and teachers are to be advised against drilling paradigms, stressing rules, using technical grammatical terms, for which "they will substitute the activity method and attempt to make foreign languages alive and interesting." As a comment on this program, the following excerpt²⁷ from an Ivy Day Oration of last June is worth noting:

This same theory of no-transfer also discounts the by-products of certain studies such as the classical languages. It does not value the cultivation through linguistic training of such faculties as observation, comprehension, imitation, orderly thinking, and respect for exactitude; in fact, even in the field of modern languages, all these intangibles have been abandoned in favor of an over-simplified "reading-for-reading" aim.

When we turn to the field of science, industry, and the domestic arts, however, we find that they have achieved the desired prominence. In one Chicago high school of nine thousand students, we are told, a course in safe automobile driving is a requirement for a diploma; in New York City students will be taught how to drive an automobile, the school paying for the gasoline and other neces-

²⁴ *N. Y. Times*, Sept. 12, 1937.

²⁵ *N. Y. Times*, Oct. 12, 1937.

²⁶ *N. Y. Times*, Sept. 9, 1938.

²⁷ *Hampshire Gazette*, June 18, 1938.

sary expenses, the work coming under a regular course in "economic citizenship." Last April a Chicago news item stated:²⁸

High school courses in shop work, typewriting, cooking, and sewing were unanimously raised to the academic dignity of Latin, history, and mathematics in so far as the standings of the 2,728 high schools of twenty central states holding membership in the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools are concerned.

And in May the *New York Times*²⁹ followed with this:

Even the trailer has left its mark upon the school system. In the New York City schools more than 500 boys are taking courses in home-making and home economics, learning to cook, to use the skillet, to make apple pies or strawberry shortcake. As a by-product they learn to wash dishes, clean the sink, and scour pans. They learn how to make poached eggs without breaking the yolks, how to peel potatoes thin and how to serve salad without spilling the olive oil on the clean table-cloth. . . . On the other hand several hundred girls are taking shop work; they swing hammers, saw two-by-fours, use the lathe, and take pride in the work they turn out.

In Oakland, California, all candidates for graduation from high school are required to pass an examination in job-finding; while in New York City a new type of vocational school will be devoted exclusively to the training of potential butchers, bakers, cafeteria workers, store clerks, and tea-room hostesses.

In order that science shall have its due recognition we are told that the Board of Superintendents of New York City schools³⁰ has voted a new junior high-school program for 300,000 pupils in the seventh, eighth, and ninth grades:

Divided into nine separate units of study the syllabus will consider all scientific fields in connection with broad general subjects. The proposed units include those of air, water, food, sun-energy, weather, reproduction, useful and harmful plants and animals, communication and transportation, and astronomy.

With the adoption of the new syllabus, the idea was that science would become more interesting to the students, and many might be encouraged to go on to advanced courses. But the question inevitably rises: What foundation is being laid for advanced work in

²⁸ *N. Y. Times*, April 8, 1938.

²⁹ *N. Y. Times*, May 8, 1938.

³⁰ *N. Y. Times*, June 24, 1938.

any subject under a scheme which seems to encourage the "knowing less and less about more and more until soon nothing will be known about everything"? In fact Dr. Flexner himself was moved to say³¹ at Brown University a year ago:

Because the world has become infinitely more complex and extensive, it does not follow that education has to make special provision for every possible need that may perchance develop in the course of human life.

And after all, does the provision meet the need? Dr. Homer P. Rainey, Director of the American Youth Commission of the American Council on Education says³² that the modern high-school program places too much emphasis on vocational education and that there is virtually no relationship between the training that youth receives and the existing employment opportunities.

Mr. Charles L. Mosher, Director of Attendance and Child Accounting in the New York State Department of Education says³³ "Finding a job is the present youth problem. Youth, skilled or unskilled, trained or untrained, graduate or non-graduate, is willing and anxious to work but can find nothing to do."

In addressing the graduates of Olivet College last June, Mr. Harlowe H. Curtice, President of the Buick Motor Corporation, warned³⁴ the graduates of the real battles awaiting them:

Your battle is against the most insidious and tireless of foes. Let me name them. They are these: the easy way, the wishful thought, the tempting short cut, the shallow assumption, the clever expedient, the evasion of responsibility, the specious solution, the self-saving ingenuity, the surrender of independence and integrity of mind. . . . [These foes] are at the bottom of most of our troubles.

Is the education we are providing adapted to equipping students to combat these foes?

Fortunately there is another side to this picture, and while we may not fully share the optimism of the man who spent many years in translating Hamlet into ancient Greek because he considered Hamlet a fine play and a work of genius, and wanted to preserve it for posterity by putting it into a language whose future

³¹ *N. Y. Times*, June 20, 1937.

³² *N. Y. Times*, July 1, 1938.

³³ *N. Y. Times*, Aug. 5, 1938.

³⁴ *N. Y. Times*, June 24, 1938.

was certain, we can at least feel encouraged by various indications of a "back-to-the-farm" movement in education. Among the cheering items to be noted are: the shift in elections reported last spring at both Williams and Princeton away from the social sciences to the humanities; the institution of a five-year training program at Columbia designed to produce graduates professionally qualified as teachers who will be fairly well educated human beings at the same time; the fact that pupils themselves are trying to make their potentialities as students remembered by their elders, as happened in Ithaca, for example, where more than a dozen high-school students asked for a class in Greek; the existence of parents like Mr. Parr, who request that Greek be taught, and of others like those in Roslyn, Long Island, who signed a petition demanding that their children have a firm grounding in the elementary subjects of history, spelling, reading, writing, and arithmetic; the fact that new institutions like St. John's at Annapolis and Hofstra at Hempstead incorporate in their creeds expressions like "broad background in the humanities," "discipline in the liberal arts," "intellectual heritage"; the sponsoring of Latin contests by leading newspapers; the awarding of scholarships in classics by various universities; the publishing of Latin news sheets and magazines by preparatory schools.

Such instances bring hope as presaging an end of that apathetic tolerance toward experiments in education which has too long prevailed. "Tolerance," says Dr. Fosdick,³⁵ "is a virtue which easily slips over into vice. . . . In the realm of moral conduct it can easily become, as it has become, a soft mush of ethical concession." And the *New York Times*, in commenting, adds: "It is not only in the moral field that we need more intolerance. . . . We are too tolerant of bad addition and multiplication and misquoted historical dates and wrong longitudes and latitudes"; and one might further add—of slovenly English and careless thinking:

Ah! 'twas a famous spectacle indeed,
This wordy welter! verbs that disagreed
With nominatives; prepositions all
Too weak to hold the objective case in thrall;

³⁵ *N. Y. Times*, Jan. 17 and 18, 1938.

Adverbs and adjectives disparted quite
From parent-words and in a woeful plight
Of orphanage; conjunctions, interjections,
With truly anarchistic predilections;
And pronouns which—a gutter-blooded swarm!—
Denied their antecedents in their form.

These lines of Ambrose Bierce, says Wilson Follett,³⁶ "fulminated of mere speeches in the early 1900's, apply with tenfold force in the late 1930's to an impressive proportion of all that one reads or hears."

In his address to the National Education Association in June President Roosevelt said:

No government can create the human touch, the self-sacrifice which the individual teacher gives to the process of education, but what government *can* do is to provide financial support and to protect from interference the freedom to learn. . . . Freedom to learn is the first necessity of guaranteeing that man himself shall be self-reliant enough to be free.

The question then becomes: *does* the government do what it *can* do? and if not, why not? One answer is suggested by these words of President Hutchins:³⁷

The President of the United States recently signed a bill appropriating for vocational training a sum three times as large as the Budget Bureau's item for that purpose. Mr. Roosevelt explained that he was signing the bill "with much reluctance" inasmuch as the bill was passed as the result of pressure by "an active lobby." When the techniques which our children are to be taught are discarded for newer techniques or eliminated by new machinery, will the groups which demanded this service be willing to support these young people who will be fit for nothing else? . . . I should like to see the taxpayers demand something better than they are demanding now. . . . In a democracy the people control the institutions, not the institutions the people.

It has been said that the only "original sin" was that of shifting the blame on to some one else. This was not only the "original sin"; it is the perennial one, nowhere more apparent than in this matter of the Forgotten Student. For in the intense preoccupation of educators with methods and curricula, who is seeing to it that pupils possess that "freedom to learn" which is "the first necessity of guaranteeing that man himself shall be self-reliant enough to be free"? "Freedom to learn" presupposes the teaching of subjects

³⁶ *Saturday Review of Literature*, Oct. 30, 1937.

³⁷ *Saturday Evening Post*, Dec. 25, 1937.

and the providing of time for studying them. In very few schools today throughout this democracy can instruction in Greek be obtained by the children of taxpayers, and in very many schools only two years' work in Latin is granted them. Mr. Roosevelt, in the course of his address, made mention of Hector and Diomedes. For how many high-school students who read or hear that speech would those names be charged with the associations that come from daily intimacy, the associations that remain with anyone who has read the *Iliad* or the *Aeneid* in the original, even when the language itself is forgotten? For this can be said for the old course of study: it left a residuum. The new is rather in the nature of a veneer.

Professor Glick spoke of the need of a return to common sense, and we have been rather given, of late years, to heeding the admonitions of psychologists. And how little common sense would be required to tell us that the laws governing the development of the mind are not less rational than those controlling the body! We do not expect a robust body to develop without rigorous exercise, nor a strong constitution to be built up on cereals alone.

As Dorothy Thompson says: "These are not stupid children," and they are, for the most part, receptive to advice and eager for guidance in educational matters. That they are being defrauded of their intellectual birthright is one of the most stupid and dangerous of blunders in this age of blunders, and the consequences are bound to be fraught with ominous possibilities both as regards themselves and the country of which they are to be citizens. The world is endowed with too few thinkers to run the risk of losing one by failing to develop any potential student; and an individual has but one mind, to be made or marred to some extent by the training to which it is subjected. The experiments of these past years have not proved, according to the evidence submitted, that in passing from the traditional curriculum to modern methods and subjects of education, we have found in the new that knowledge that "is of most worth." And the objects of these experiments may well have a grievance at having been deprived of that discipline which is "necessary to the human soul" and of that education which "the best judgment of the centuries had agreed to be of permanent value."

THE FRAGMENTARY PHILOSOPHICAL TREATISES OF CICERO

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Of the twenty-two treatises on philosophical problems which Cicero composed in swift succession during the last years of his life¹ more than half—fourteen, to be exact—have reached us in fragmentary condition.²

With these Cicero would count his *Cato*, as he calls his *laudatio* of M. Porcius Cato Uticensis,³ on the ground that, since by philosophy a man is made virtuous and strong, it was particularly worthy of a place among his books on philosophy (*Div.* II, 1, 3).

¹ Cf. *Nat. Deor.* I, 3, 6; *Off.* III, 1, 4. The *Oeconomicus* was translated ca. 85. The *Chorographia* was begun in 59, but we do not know when it was completed. The *De Re Publica* was initiated in 54 and issued in 51. The *Paradoxa Stoicorum* was started in 53 and finished in 46. The *De Legibus* was inaugurated in 52, but we have no evidence about its publication. The *Protagoras* is of uncertain date and is not mentioned by Cicero; however, some scholars suppose that it was translated in Cicero's youth. The *De Iure Civili in Artem Redigendo* is also of uncertain date, but is promised in the *De Oratore* (II, 33, 142), written in 55. The remaining fifteen were composed between 45 and 43.

² J. S. Reid, the eminent English editor of some of Cicero's philosophical works, in the introduction to his edition of Cicero's *Academica* (London, 1885), makes this surprising statement (p. 25): "All Cicero's philosophical works are written in the form of dialogues." No reviewer seems to have corrected this claim. Of the works which are now whole the *Paradoxa Stoicorum* and the *De Officiis* definitely are not dialogues. Owing to their defective condition we cannot speak so confidently of the form of four fragmentary treatises: the *Chorographia*, the *Consolatio*, the *De Auguriis*, and the *De Iure Civili in Artem Redigendo*; however, the last two may well have been cast in the form of dialogue.

³ Written in 46, mentioned nine times in Cicero's writings (*Div.* II, 1, 3; *Or.* 10, 35; *Top.* 25, 94; *Att.* XII, 4, 2; 5, 2; 40, 1; XIII, 27, 1; 46, 2; Quintilian, *Inst. Orat.* v, 10, 9 [a citation from Cicero]), and known two centuries later by Gellius as the *Laus Catonis* (*Noc. Att.* XIII, 20, 3), all that exists of this encomium is a sentence saved by Macrobius (*Sat.* VI, 2, 33) and a participial formation followed by two clauses preserved by Priscian (*Inst. Gram.* x, 3, 18), who wrongly assigns it to the *Cato Maior de Senectute*.

Against this claim, advanced two years after the completion of the *Cato*, should be set Cicero's earlier evidence that the interest shown in the literary struggle over the dead Cato was inspired by politics rather than by philosophy (*Att.* XII, 4, 2). Cicero claims Aristotle and Theophrastus as his authorities in joining rhetoric with philosophy and also considers it proper to put his rhetorical writings in the same category (*Div.* II, 1, 4).⁴ Of his seven works on rhetoric he names the *De Oratore*, the *Brutus*, and the *Orator* in the *De Divinatione*. Since this treatise was published after Caesar's death (Cf., e.g., I, 52, 119; II, 2, 4; 2, 7; 9, 23; 47, 99), it is curious that Cicero did not mention the *De Optimo Genere Oratorum* (written ca. 46) and the *De Partitione Oratoria* (composed 46-45). As for the *De Inventione Rhetorica* (produced probably 84-83), Cicero had not a high opinion of this early work (*De Orat.* I, 2, 5; Quintilian, *Inst. Orat.* II, 15, 6) and so his silence can be understood. Though the *Topica* was written between July 20 and 28 in 44, while Cicero was sailing from Velia to Rhegium (*Fam.* VII, 20 and 19), it is possible that the *De Divinatione* preceded it in publication.

While allowing the close connection in antiquity between rhetoric and philosophy, modern scholars, however, tend to reject both the *Laus Catonis* and the seven treatises on rhetoric⁵ from the canon of Cicero's philosophical works. With equal justice Cicero could have included his hexameter versions of the Greek

⁴ Cicero is a competent witness to this union: *Nat. Deor.* II, 1, 1; *Parad.* 2; *Fat.* 2, 3; *Tusc. Disp.* I, 4, 7; *Off.* I, 1, 3.

⁵ To conform with the title of this paper, in the event that the judgment on the rhetorical works is not accepted by any reader, it may be said that of these productions the *De Inventione Rhetorica* has descended to us in only two books, which treat the first of the five parts (*inventio, distributio, actio, elocutio, memoria*) into which rhetoric was commonly divided; hence some suppose that Cicero abandoned his task on the publication of the *Rhetorica ad C. Herennium*, which was formerly attributed to Cicero but is now ascribed to a Roman rhetorician known only to us by his gentile name Cornificius, and with which Cicero's manual frequently agrees in rules, phrases, and examples—a coincidence usually explained by the assumption that each author based his work on the current system of Hermagoras of Temnos. The *De Optimo Genere Oratorum* is represented only by the introduction to Cicero's translation of Aesches' *Contra Ctesiphontem* and Demosthenes' *De Corona*, which the Preface proves were in his mind specimens of what he believed to be true models of Attic style. The other five books are complete except for the conclusion of the *Brutus*.

poems of Aratus of Soli, whose *Phaenomena* and *Prognostica* deal mainly with astronomical and meteorological matters,⁶ since such subjects were studied in the field of physics, one of the three departments—logic, physics, ethics—into which classical philosophy was divided. Philosophy in poetic garb was not novel in Cicero's generation, for we have the great work of Lucretius, the *De Rerum Natura*, which Cicero admired (*Q. F.* II, 9, 3) and edited, if we believe St. Jerome (*Eus. Chron.* II, *ad ann. Abr.* 1922). But both in poetry, though Plutarch alone professes to consider Cicero the premier poet of Rome (*Cic.* 2, 3), and in philosophy Cicero's versions of Aratus' poems are far inferior to the corresponding subject-matter of Lucretius' poem (VI, 43–534). And it may be that his own appreciation of this fact caused Cicero to omit their titles from the list of his works on philosophy given in the *De Divinatione*.⁷

While the imperfect state of the majority of Cicero's philosophical writings makes it difficult to compose a complete classification of these treatises according to subject, and though no scheme yet suggested has achieved universal acceptance, the following grouping is offered:

1. The *Metaphysical* section totals seven treatises: *Paradoxa Stoicorum*, *Hortensius*,⁸ *Academica*,⁸ *De Finibus Bonorum et Malorum*, *Consolatio*,⁸ *Tusculanae Disputationes*, *Protagoras (ex Platone)*.⁸

2. The *Ethical* class includes five essays: *De Gloria*,⁸ *Cato Maior de Senectute*, *Laelius de Amicitia*, *De Officiis*, *De Virtutibus*.⁸

⁶ While 732 Greek verses of the *Phaenomena* remain, we have only 554 lines of Cicero's translation, which occur mostly in the *De Natura Deorum* II, 41–44, 104–114. Though 422 Greek verses of the *Prognostica* exist, we have only 27 lines of Cicero's translation, which appear mostly in the *De Divinatione* I, 7–9, 13–15. The latest investigator into Cicero's poetry, W. W. Ewbank, in his dissertation, *The Poems of Cicero* (London, 1933), discusses the dates of the *Aratea*. The *Phaenomena* and the *Prognostica*, he holds, "can be assigned to a period prior to Cicero's journey to Greece in 79–77 with some degree of certainty" (p. 23), but interpreting *Att.* II, 1, 11 he thinks (with Leo) that "a new edition of the *Prognostica* was issued in 60 . . . which was a revised version of the early translation" (p. 24).

⁷ On the criticism of Cicero's poetry both in ancient and in modern times, cf. pp. 27–39 of Ewbank's essay mentioned in note 6.

⁸ This treatise is fragmentary.

3. The *Theological* collection contains four works: *De Natura Deorum*, *De Divinatione*, *De Fato*,⁸ *De Auguriis*.⁸

4. The *Political* portion embraces four discourses: *Oeconomicus* (*ex Xenophonte*),⁸ *De Re Publica*,⁸ *De Legibus*,⁸ *De Iure Civili in Artem Redigendo*.⁸

5. The *Physical* division comprises two compositions: *Timaeus* (*ex Platone*),⁸ *Chorographia*.⁸

I

Of the fourteen fragmentary treatises five remain in considerable bulk: the *De Re Publica*, the *De Legibus*, the *Academica*, the *De Fato*, and the *Timaeus*. With the exception of the last all these may be read with profit. It must be admitted that the appeal of the *Timaeus* (whose fifty-two sections extend through sixteen pages of Teubner text) is not great, since even in the original Greek Plato's dialogue is obscure—a circumstance which Cicero claims is due to the abstruseness of the subject and not of the style (*Fin. II*, 5, 15).⁹ Cicero's fragmentary rendering of this treatise on cosmogony represents about one-fifth of Plato's dialogue, since it starts in p. 27D of Stephanus' edition, while the beginning occurs at p. 17A., exhibits two *lacunae*, one after §28 (where there is no translation for pp. 37C-38C) and one after §48 (where there is no version for pp. 43B-46A), and stops in p. 47B, while the end occurs at p. 92C. Thus we have only a section of the earlier part of Timaeus' long speech, which occupies pp. 27D-92C with only a slight break in p. 29D, where Socrates' interruption is not reproduced by Cicero. Of the missing part we have only one word, *defenstrix*, which Priscian preserves (*Part. XII Vers. Aen. I*, 16).¹⁰ From Cicero's short and defective Preface we learn that in adapting Plato's production for Roman readers he substituted for the original interlocutors, who were Socrates, Timaeus,

⁸ This judgment is justified by St. Jerome, who calls the *Timaeus* an "obscurissimus . . . liber . . . qui ne Ciceronis quidem aureo ore fit planior" (*Comm. in Amos II*, 5, 283).

⁹ In his dissertation, *Die literarischen Pläne Ciceros* (Coburg, 1928), 103-109, S. Häfner, the most recent writer on the literary problem posed by the *Timaeus*, mentions most of the earlier literature—which deals largely with the linguistic aspect, but fails to notice the able investigation of F. Hochdanz, *Quaestiones Criticae in Timaeum Ciceronis e Platone Transcriptum* (Nordhausen, 1880).

Hermocrates, and Critias, P. Nigidius Figulus, the Roman Neo-Pythagorean (*praef.* 59, *ob.* 44), Cratippus of Mytilene, soon to be the Peripatetic scholarch, and himself. The dramatic date of the dialogue is 51 and the scene is laid at Ephesus, where Cicero called on his journey to his Cilician command.

The *De Fato* consists of forty-eight sections which occupy about seventeen and a half pages of Teubner text. The beginning of the Preface is missing, a break is indicated after §4, and the end is not extant. But we have independent witness to five short fragments, of which two are supplied by Macrobius and one each by Gellius, Servius, and St. Augustine.¹¹ This treatise, which Cicero considers a companion-piece to his *De Natura Deorum* and *De Divinatione* (*Div.* II, 1, 3), is a study of the freedom of the human will, in which Cicero calls to his aid Carneades against Chrysippus and Epicurus. Poorly organized as the dialogue is in its present state, yet from it we learn that Cicero controverts the Stoic position of fatalism by presenting the Neo-Academic doctrine that man's will is free and by confirming the similar teaching of the Epicureans—a rare experience for him—though he rejects the arguments which the latter advanced to support their stand.¹² The scene is set at Cicero's Puteolan villa in 44 and the speakers are A. Hirtius (*cos.* 43, *ob.* 43) and Cicero.

The *Academica* has a curious literary history. This dialogue, to which Cicero refers oftener than to any other of his philosophical writings,¹³ was issued originally in two books and almost immediately was revised into a new edition of four books. Besides

¹¹ Some editors also believe that an anecdote related by St. Augustine (*De Civ. Dei* v, 2) may come from this dialogue; but this is only an assumption.

¹² The latest student of this dialogue, Miss M. Y. Henry, presents an excellent discussion of its contents in her thesis, *The Relation of Dogmatism and Scepticism in the Philosophical Treatises of Cicero* (Geneva, 1925), 67–77 and in T.A.P.A., LVIII (1927), 32–42. A thorough treatment of the sources of this work is given by A. Lörcher in his dissertation, *De Compositione et Fonte Libri Ciceronis qui est De Fato* (Halle, 1907), which supersedes earlier studies.

¹³ The several principal editors cannot agree on the count of the *testimonia*, which will not seem strange to the student who reads the references. Even the same editor (Plasberg) over a period of fourteen years reduced his reckoning from twenty-six to twenty-three, though he added (1922) an obvious reference which he had neglected (1908).

the extra fragments we now have two books, viz., the second half of the first edition (*Academica Priora sive Lucullus*) and the first quarter of the second edition (*Academica Posteriora olim Catulus*), usually printed in reverse order. The personages of the dialogue are Q. Lutatius Catulus (*cos. 78, ob. 60*), M. Terentius Varro Reatinus (116-28), Q. Hortensius Hortalus (114-50), L. Licinius Lucullus (*ca. 110—ca. 57*), T. Pomponius Atticus (109-32), and Cicero. However, in what remains Atticus, Catulus, and Hortensius have minor rôles. The scene of the first edition shifts from Catulus' country-house at Cumae to Hortensius' rural retreat at Bauli; in the second edition the conversation is conducted at Varro's villa near the Lucrine Lake. The imaginary date in the first edition may be placed between 63 and 60, while the time in the second edition is near the actual date of composition in 45. Two days are indicated for the length of the discussion. Cicero's contribution to the division of logic—one of the three fields over which ancient philosophy ranged—was this work, which is devoted to a discussion of the bases of human knowledge and of the possibility of achieving certitude. In the course of the controversy Cicero considers chiefly the various views held by several scholarchs of the Academy, though he saves some space for criticism of the doctrines defended by the principal philosophers of rival sects.¹⁴ In the works of later writers have been noted almost seventy allusions to, and quotations from, the *Academica*,¹⁵ but of these only twenty-two are generally recognized as true fragments *extra textum receptum*. Seventeen fragments are assigned to certain books, while five others appear to be of uncertain context. From Nonius we have fifteen short sentences illustrative of definitions, St.

¹⁴ Miss Henry (*op. cit.*, 26-35) gives the latest and an admirable analysis of the problem which Cicero confronted in this treatise. The most recent discussion of the sources used by Cicero is found in A. Lörcher's *Das Fremde und das Eigene in Ciceros Büchern De Finibus Bonorum et Malorum und den Academica* (Halle, 1911), 240-295.

¹⁵ Plasberg (1922) counts sixty-eight; earlier editors give fewer. For most of these we are indebted to Nonius (twenty-nine), St. Augustine (thirteen), and Lactantius (twelve), who preserve with occasional variations portions of our present text *praeter fragmenta*. An oddity occurs in that only one citation comes from the first book of the second edition, which is incomplete, and that all others belong to the second book of the first edition, which is whole, or to the missing three books of the second edition.

Augustine provides three larger fragments and a phrase, Lactantius gives two sentences, and to Diomedes we owe one word.

The *De Re Publica* is generally granted, with the possible exception of its sequel, the *De Legibus*, to be the most original treatise in Cicero's philosophical library. Originally in six books, it survives in a much mutilated manuscript which exhibits forty-five *lacunae* of varying length in the first three books and only six fragments from the fourth and fifth books, besides several corrupt passages. The celebrated *Somnium Scipionis*, considered to be the conclusion of the sixth book, has an independent manuscript history, since it exists in other manuscripts of Cicero as well as of Macrobius, who wrote an elaborate commentary upon it. The breaks in the work have engaged the attention of scholars since its first edition in 1822 and with some success have been filled from the numerous citations furnished by later writers. We have enough of the dialogue, however, to reconstruct a general outline of its discussion, which takes for its main theme the ideal state as seen chiefly from the Stoic point of view, though the debt to Plato's masterpiece is large both in form and in plan.¹⁶ After introductory remarks on astronomical matters the conversation turns to a discussion of the several kinds of government, whence gradually emerges the proposition that the ideal form is found in the Roman state, whose history is next traced; the dialogue then deals with the differences between the defenders and the opponents of justice in governments. It is somewhat speculative to suggest the subject-matter of the last three books, but from the fragments assigned to these it seems to have treated such topics as classification of citizens, education and recreation, enforcement of law, qualifications and duties of statesmen, concluding with the *Dream of Scipio* wherein is shown the reward of the ideal statesman. The dialogue lasts for three days and occurs at the suburban villa of P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus Africanus Minor Numantinus in

¹⁶ A satisfactory scheme is supplied by C. W. Keyes in the Loeb edition of this treatise (London, 1928), pp. 4-6. The best, though not the newest, survey of Cicero's sources for the dialogue is the exhaustive work of I. Galbiatus (al. G. Galbiati), *De Fontibus M. Tullii Ciceronis Librorum qui Manserunt De Re Publica et De Legibus Quaestiones* (Milan, 1916).

129. The speakers are nine in number—more than in any other of Cicero's dialogues: Scipio (*ca.* 185–129), M' Manilius (*cos.* 149), Sp. Mummius (*legatus* 146), C. Laelius Sapiens (*cos.* 140), L. Furius Philus (*cos.* 136), C. Fannius Strabo (*cos.* 122), Q. Aelius Tubero (*cos. suff.* 118,) Q. Mucius Scaevola Augur (*cos.* 117), P. Rutilius Rufus (*cos.* 105). Since about 120 fragments have been found, it would be tedious to list their location in later works;¹⁷ however, it may be noted that the majority are from Nonius (sixty-seven), after whom come St. Augustine (eighteen), Lactantius (six), Servius and Priscian (four each), Gellius and an anonymous author (three each), Isidore and the Scholiast on Juvenal (two each), Seneca, Pliny the Elder, Ammianus Marcellinus, Diomedes, Charisius, Philargyrius, Favonius Eulogius, Arusianus Messius, Macrobius, the Scholiast on Horace, and Petrus Pictavensis (one each). Some *lacunae* are supposed to be summarized by St. Augustine (six), Lactantius (five), Cicero (two), Tertullian and Macrobius (one each).

The *De Legibus* illustrates the *De Re Publica* by explaining the operation of law and justice in Cicero's ideal state. Most of its first three books is extant, since only one large *lacuna* is found in each book and the end of the third book is missing; but, apart from a fragment expressly quoted from the fifth book, we do not know how many books were included in the whole work. However, the critical consensus is that Cicero completed his project in six books. The fragments are few—only four in number and evenly divided between Lactantius and Macrobius. The dialogue is more vivacious than in any other of Cicero's philosophical treatises, save possibly the *De Re Publica*, and is distributed among Atticus, Q. Tullius Cicero (*ca.* 102–43), and Cicero himself. The scene is in various parts of Cicero's country-seat at Arpinum and the time is in 52. One day suffices for the conversation, which from a general discussion on justice and law passes next to the subject of

¹⁷ These may be discovered in the *apparatus* of K. Ziegler's second edition of the dialogue, which is the latest Teubner text (Leipzig, 1929). In view of the continued dispute over the place of certain fragments, it would have been helpful if the editor had compiled an *index fragmentorum* to show where they have been placed by earlier editors, whose editions have held the field longer than his.

religious law and then to the theme of magisterial law. While we do not know what topics were treated in the missing books, yet Cicero gives us several hints, when he postpones discussion of distinctions in legal status arising from blood-relationships of families (I, 7, 23), when he promises to examine education at a later point (III, 13, 29 f.), when he plans to speak later about the courts (III, 20, 47), when he proposes to canvass the legal powers of magistrates (III, 20, 48 f.). Beyond his obvious dependence upon Plato for the plan of the *De Legibus* there is no accepted agreement on what Greek sources Cicero relied, whether Stoic or Neo Academic, though it is recognized that Roman sources loom large in the last two-thirds of the treatise.¹⁸

II

Of the other nine fragmentary articles in Cicero's philosophical encyclopaedia no consecutive passages remain.

The *De Iure Civili in Artem Redigendo* was another contribution of Cicero to the political portion of his philosophical plan and was cast in the form of a dialogue, if we may safely surmise from the context (*De Orat.* II, 33, 142) where it is foreshadowed. While we learn from Cicero how he would pursue the problem (*De Orat.* I, 42, 190), all that we have of his solution is a short sentence given by Gellius (*Noc. Att.* I, 22, 7) and one word cited by Charisius (*Ars Gram.*, ed. by H. Keil, *Gram. Lat.* [Leipzig, 1857], I, 138, 13).¹⁹

Save for three sentences preserved by Priscian (*Inst. Gram.* V, 12, 64 [repeated VI, 7, 35]; VI, 11, 63; VIII, 7, 35) and a phrase drawn from Donatus (*Comm. ad Ter. Fab.*: *Phor.* 611) Cicero's translation of Plato's *Protagoras* has perished.

Hirzel holds that Cicero did not name the *De Auguriis* in the

¹⁸ For a detailed discussion of the subject of the sources see the reference to Galbiati's work in note 16.

¹⁹ The latest separate account of this work appears to be the article by H. E. Dirksen, "Über Ciceros untergegangene Schrift: *De Iure Civili in Artem Redigendo*, in *Abhandlungen der königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* (1842), 177-198. In this well-documented paper Dirksen discusses chiefly Cicero's qualifications to write such a work and Cicero's contacts with the leading legal lights of his day.

catalogue of his works (*Div. II*, 1, 1-4) because its subject was technical rather than philosophical, and that Cicero may have composed it soon after his admission to the augurate in 53.²⁰ But from the two words cited by Charisius (*Ars Gram.*; ed. Keil, *op. cit.*, I, 105, 4; 122, 22; 139, 11) we cannot state with confidence what its character was. Though Cicero may have considered its composition in a letter dated in 50 (*Fam. III*, 9, 3), yet six years later he still seems to have postponed it (*Div. II*, 35 f., 75 f.). This treatise was known to Servius under the title of *De Auguralibus* (*Comm. in Verg. Aen. V*, 738 [cf. III, 359]).

A geographical work, to which Cicero calls the attention of Atticus several times in 59 (*Att. II*, 4, 3; 6, 1; 7, 1), may be his *Chorographia*, from which Priscian provides a short sentence (*Inst. Gram. VI*, 16, 83). This treatise may find a place among Cicero's essays in the physical field of philosophy.

To Charisius (*Ars Gram.*; ed. Keil, *op. cit.*, II, 208, 14) we owe the only authentic fragment, consisting of three words, from the *De Virtutibus*. The book was known to St. Jerome (*Comm. in Zach. I*, 1 *sub fin.*), who tells us that it treated the four cardinal virtues. It was written in the form of a dialogue, if we can trust the testimony of Antoine de la Sale (ca. 1386—ca. 1460), who in his *La Salade* turns into French several sections of it. According to Antoine the *De Virtutibus* had at least eleven chapters, but what was their average length and how many more there were we do not know.²¹ An attempt to uncover Cicero's contribution has been attended with some success, but the findings cannot be ranked as real fragments.²²

²⁰ R. Hirzel, *Der Dialog* (Leipzig, 1895), I, 537, n. 3.

²¹ The latest edition of Antoine's *La Salade* is by F. Desonay (Paris, 1935) and forms the first of a projected three volumes of his complete works. In this edition we read: . . . "Tullès en sondit livre De Virtutibuz et ou VII^e chapilte . . ." (p. 14, l. 234), and "Tullès, en le unziesme chapilte de sondit livre . . ." (p. 19, l. 417).

The editor has constructed what appears to be a good critical text (of which a glossary will later be given) and has written an informative Introduction—so far as it goes, since due to lack of either interest or space he has failed to furnish information about the sources used by Antoine, who refers to many ancient authors.

²² In his dissertation, *De Ciceronis de Virtutibus Libro* (Leipzig, 1908), H. Knöllinger has restored into Latin (for which he apologizes) thirteen passages, which he believes contain Cicero's *ipsissima verba* and four phrases which he thinks have a Ciceronian color (77-90).

The *De Gloria* consisted of two books (*Off.* II, 9, 31) and according to St. Jerome (*Comm. ad Gal.* III, 5) gave the several definitions and significations embraced by the word. Only six fragments²³ are extant, of which one belongs to the first book, four come from the second book, and one is of unnoted place. They come from Charisius (two), Diomedes, Festus, Gellius,²⁴ and Philargyrius.²⁵ In the composition of this treatise Cicero confesses his carelessness. For the prooemium to the *De Gloria* Cicero had chosen one from a volume of prolegomena which he had already written. Not until he happened to reread his *Academica* did he realize that he had used for the former the same foreword which he had utilized for the third book of the latter. Thereupon he provided a new prologue and posted it to Atticus with instructions to excise the old introduction and to paste the new preface in its place (*Att.* XVI, 6, 4).

That his version of Xenophon's *Oeconomicus* was an early exercise Cicero confides to his son (*Off.* II, 24, 87). Its subject-matter is summarized by Servius (*Comm. in Verg. Georg.* I, 43), who says that the first book contained rules to regulate the domestic life of the mistress of the household, the second book showed the master of the household how to live when not at home, and the third book gave instructions on agriculture. Besides three more statements of Servius which paraphrase certain points not to be classed as citations (*Comm. in Verg. Georg.* II, 288, 412; *Comm. in Verg. Aen.* I, 703) and a similar reference from Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* XVIII, 224) we have seven short sentences supplied by Charisius, Donatus,

²³ However, A. Souter suggests a seventh in his recent paper, "A Probable Fragment of Cicero's *De Gloria*," in *Classical Review* XLVI (1932), 151 f. In St. Jerome's *Commentarius in Matthaeum* (on chap. v, verse 12) occurs this passage: Eleganter in quodam volumine scriptum legimus: "Ne quaeras gloriam, et non dolebis cum in glorius fueris." Though, as Souter says, "there is nothing unciceronian in the sentence," yet his suggestion is only a supposition.

²⁴ In *Noc. Att.* xv, 6 Gellius gives the longest fragment, which ends with three verses translated from Homer's *Iliad* VII, 89-91.

²⁵ Apparently the only study of the sources of the *De Gloria* is F. Schneider's article, "Meletemata in Ciceronis de Gloria Libros," in *Zeitschrift für die Alterthumswissenschaft* VI (1839), 219-230. He believes that Cicero chose for his Greek exemplar the treatises of Theophrastus Ηερὶ Ἐραῖον and Ηερὶ Φιλοτιμίας, not without taking cognizance, however, of the opinions of philosophers of other schools.

Gellius, Macrobius, Nonius (two), and Priscian.²⁶ Another kind of quotation is that found in the *Cato Maior* 17, 59, where Cicero cites an anecdote from Xenophon's *Oeconomicus* 4, 20-25, but condenses it to such a degree that it has been suspected that instead of lifting it *ex silentio* from his juvenile work he translated it *de novo* to suit his present purpose.²⁷ But we must look to Columella for further examples of this type. That Columella depended upon Cicero for what material in his *De Re Rustica* he needed from Xenophon has long been known, and it has also been shown by early editors that Columella modified Cicero's words and sentence-order to suit his own plan. But it has remained for two recent investigators, Lundström and Virck, to study the principal passages (e.g., xi, 1, 5; xii, praef. 1; xii, 2, 6-3, 4), where Columella consciously quotes Cicero, and to show how carelessly Columella proceeds, with the result that we may be certain only here and there of a Ciceronian word or phrase or clause.²⁸

Cicero's *Consolatio* was written during the days following the death (in Feb. 45) of his daughter Tullia, to whom he was devoted. To assuage his grief he searched all the manuscripts *de maerore minuendo* which he could borrow from Atticus, but these seemed so inadequate to his inner need that he sought to solace himself by setting himself to write a work on the same subject—an effort which he confidently considered an innovation (*Att.* xii, 14, 3). In Cicero's writings we find reference to this treatise and to the state in which he was when he wrote it (e.g., *Att.* xii, 28, 2; *Div.* ii, 1, 3; *Tusc. Disp.* i, 31, 75 f.; 34, 83; iv, 29, 63 [cf. iii, 31, 75 f.]), but what more concerns us here are the references to his method of composition. Cicero claims that in his *Consolatio* he collected

²⁶ There is also a sentence of three words ascribed to Cicero by the anonymous author of the *De Dubiis Nominibus*, which Keil edits in his *Gram. Lat.* (Leipzig, 1868) v, 576, 12; but it has not been established that this citation comes from the *Oeconomicus*, despite the confidence of certain critics.

²⁷ Such is the conclusion of the latest student of this version, C. Virck, who admirably supports this point in his dissertation, *Cicero qua ratione Xenophontis Oeconomicum Latine verterit* (Weimar, 1914), 17 f. In quoting the fragments Virck arranges *à côté* the corresponding sections in Xenophon's treatise (9-18).

²⁸ V. Lundström, "Ciceros Översättning af Xenophons Oikonomikos," in *Eranos* xii (1912), 1-31, and C. Virck, *op. cit.* [cf. note 27], 18-68. Virck read Lundström's article (p. 1, n. 1) and found that he agreed with Lundström in the main points (68).

"clarissimorum hominum nostrae civitatis gravissimos exitus" (*Div.* II, 9, 22) and the list was long, if we add the names of those concerning whom Cicero called on Atticus for information (e.g., *Att.* XII, 20, 2; 22, 2; 23, 2; 24, 2 [cf. *Fam.* IV, 6, 1 and *Tusc. Disp.* III, 28, 70]).²⁹ These were treated as illustrations of the theme, which Cicero confides (on Pliny's authority) he took from Crantor of Soli, a member of the Old Academy and the author of the celebrated *Consolatio Περὶ Πένθους*.³⁰ It is quite possible that Crantor's *Consolatio* was Cicero's chief source; but such concession does not preclude the possibility that Cicero, as was his custom, consulted other writings of this character as well. A few hints on the topics upon which Cicero touched (cf. *Tusc. Disp.* III, 31, 76) are given by St. Augustine (*De Civ. Dei* XIX, 4, 2) and by Lactantius (*Inst. Div.* I, 15, 16-22; III, 18, 18; 19, 3-6; 19, 13 f.; 28, 9).³¹ The frag-

²⁹ Additional names are assigned to this list by St. Jerome (*Eph.* LX, 5 [ad Heliodorum; ed. by J. P. Migne, *Patrologia Latina* (Paris, 1864), XXII, 592]).

³⁰ Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, Praef. 22: ". . . in consolatione filiae Crantorem, inquit, sequor." Cf. St. Jerome (*loc. cit.* in note 29): "Legimus Crantorem, cuius volumen ad confovendum dolorem suum secutus est Cicero."

³¹ The fullest account of this literary *genre* is C. Buresch's "Consolationum a Graecis Romanisque Scriptarum Historia Critica," in *Leipziger Studien zur Classischen Philologie* IX (1886), 1-170. Cicero's contribution is considered in pp. 94-108. A recent attempt to reconstruct Cicero's *Consolatio* has been made by J. van Wageningen in his brochure, *De Ciceronis Libro Consolationis* (Groningen, 1916). With much ingenuity the author assembles (19-51) not only the fragments of the *Consolatio* and the passages from other writings of Cicero—chiefly *Tusc. Disp.* I and III—which present consolatory concepts, of which many probably come from Crantor (cf. especially *Tusc. Disp.* I, 27, 66), but also excerpts of the same sort from other ancient authors, particularly Plutarch and St. Jerome. The restoration, he claims, gives an "imaginem quamvis non expressam, at tamen adumbratam . . . *Consolationis Tullianae*" (53). But his attempt to reconstruct Cicero's *Consolatio* or Crantor's *Περὶ Πένθους* by choosing what Cicero's *Tusculans* and Plutarch's *Consolatio ad Appollonium* have in common has not achieved general acceptance and Van Wageningen has had to vindicate his work in *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift* XXXVII (1917), 1287 (cf. 496-504). That the *Consolatio* contained consolatory letters written by Cicero to himself is the novel notion proposed by G. Przychocki in his short study, "De Ciceronis Consolatione," in *Eos* XXIII (1918), 16-19. This investigator insists that *litterae* must be identical with *epistulae* in those passages of Cicero's *Letters* which pertain to the *Consolatio* (particularly *Att.* XII, 14, 3 and 28, 2). Somewhat naively he concludes his contribution thus: "Quae res etiam ad communem epistularum antiquarum historiam maximi est momenti, nam nunc luce clarius apparet Ciceronem non solum *veras* illas epistulas, prout usus ferebat, scriptissime sed etiam genere esse usum *fictionum epistularum* . . . "

ments of the *Consolatio* are few.³² The longest *locus* (about seventeen lines) comes from Cicero himself, who quotes it "his ipsis verbis" in another work (*Tusc. Disp.* 1, 27, 66).³³ Pliny has preserved two words (*loc. cit.*) and Lactantius has left us five fragments ranging from one to three sentences (*Inst. Div.* 1, 15, 19 f., 111, 14, 20; 19, 6; 19, 14; 28, 9). From Lactantius we also learn that in his eyes the *Consolatio* was written "tam varie, tam copiose, tam ornate" (*Inst. Div.* 1, 15, 22).

At Venice in 1583 a certain Vianello published a *Consolatio*, the composition of which he conferred upon Cicero. While the language is largely Ciceronian, other considerations, chiefly turgidity of style and poverty of ideas, have led critics to consider it a forgery. On the other hand, controversy still continues over the questions of authorship and of date, which seemingly will not be solved until more evidence exists.³⁴

Of Cicero's more fragmentary treatises on philosophy his *Hortensius* leads the list in the number of fragments found. Fashioned in the form of a dialogue wherein Q. Hortensius Hortalus (114-50), L. Licinius Lucullus (ca. 110—ca. 57), Q. Lutatius Catulus (cos. 78, ob. 60), and Cicero conversed, this work is commonly conceded to serve as the introduction to Cicero's philosophical investigations. That it was composed in answer to Hortensius' censure and disparagement of the pursuit of philosophy is clear from Cicero's characterization of it as his defense and praise of philosophy (e.g., *Fin.* 1, 1, 2). Trebellius Pollio calls it a *protrepticus* (*Gallien.* 20. 1) and St. Augustine calls it an *exhortatio* (*Confess.*

³² This is the only fragmentary philosophical writing of Cicero from which no grammarian gleaned.

³³ Most of this is later transmitted by Lactantius, who divides it into two parts (*De Ira Dei* 10, 45 f. and *Inst. Div.* 1, 5, 25).

³⁴ The most satisfactory study of this document has been made by E. T. Sage in his dissertation, *The Pseudo-Ciceronian Consolatio* (Chicago, 1910). His conclusion is "that this *Consolatio* is the work of an unknown scholar of the Renaissance" (57). However, the latest investigator, S. Reinach, who admits that he has not read Sage's thesis (p. 123, n. 3), regards his own research as proving that an ancient writer is the author ("Sigonius Vindicatus ou la *Consolatio de Cicéron*" in *Revue Archéologique* XXXIII [1931], 121-133).

III, 4, 7).³⁵ This work was widely known in antiquity, as references to, and quotations from it, show, and especially affected St. Augustine's studies and spiritual life.³⁶ Almost ninety fragments remain: sixty-four from Nonius (who repeats four of these), eleven from St. Augustine, four from Lactantius, three from Arusianus Messius, two from Priscian, and one apiece from Seneca, Servius, St. Maximus Taurinensis, and the Scholiasta Gronovianus on the *Verrines*.³⁷ To Bywater belongs the credit for the discovery that Aristotle's lost *Protrepticus* was the chief source for Cicero's *Hortensius*.³⁸ By comparing fragments of the *Hortensius* with passages in the *Protrepticus* of Iamblichus, whose debt to Aristotle is obvious, Bywater gave detailed proofs—later confirmed and complemented particularly by Usener and Diels³⁹—that the similarity between the two later works can be explained only on the ground that each author drew deeply from Aristotle's dialogue.⁴⁰

Habent sua fata libelli. Yet, so far as content is concerned, we need not greatly lament the loss of the *Oeconomicus*, the *Protogoras*, and the *Timaeus*, for we have their originals. Nor could we miss much the *Chorographia*, the *Consolatio*, the *Hortensius*, the

³⁵ Cicero twice connects the verb *cohortor* with the *Hortensius* (*Div.* II, 1, 1 and *Off.* II, 2, 6). For an account of treatises of this type one should consult P. Hartlich's study, "De Exhortationum a Graecis Romanisque Scriptarum Historia et Indole," in *Leipziger Studien sur Classischen Philologie* xi (1888), 207–336. The *Hortensius* is discussed in pp. 291–300.

³⁶ His well-known testimony—too long to quote—is found in his *Confessiones* III, 4, 7 and *De Beata Vita* 4. Besides referring to it three times St. Augustine quotes from it eleven times, preserving five lengthy passages. The latest article on St. Augustine's relation to this treatise is that of J. Stroux, "Augustinus und Ciceros Hortensius," in *Festschrift Richard Reitzenstein* (Leipzig, 1931), 106–118.

³⁷ A. Gudeman has been given no recorded support for his claim that Tacitus quotes directly from the *Hortensius* in his *Dialogus de Oratoribus* 16, 11. His opinion is offered in *T.A.P.A.* xxii (1891), xlvi–xlviii.

³⁸ I. Bywater, "On a Lost Dialogue of Aristotle," in *Journal of Philology* II (1869), 55–69.

³⁹ H. Usener, "Vergessenes," in *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* xxviii (1873), 391–403; H. Diels, "Zu Aristoteles' *Protreptikos* und Cicero's *Hortensius*," in *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie* 1 (1888), 477–498.

⁴⁰ Despite the merits of R. Dienel's tripartite treatise, *Zu Ciceros Hortensius* (Wien, 1912–14), the best study of the *Hortensius* is still O. Plasberg's dissertation, *De M. Tullii Ciceronis Hortensio Dialogo* (Leipzig, 1892).

De Auguriis, the *De Fato*, the *De Gloria*, and the *De Virtutibus*, for most of what they could have contained has been elsewhere made available by ancient authors. But in the case of the remaining four there is more cause for complaint. What we have of the *Academica* makes us long for the rest, since the problem which it treats is still unsolved, viz., the possibility of arriving at certitude in human knowledge. When we recall that Cicero had been for years the foremost orator of the Roman bar and yet has left us only four speeches concerned with civil suits,⁴¹ we realize what we have suffered in the failure of his *De Iure Civili in Artem Redigendo* to survive. But to all generally and especially to historians the greatest loss is that of the missing sections of the *De Re Publica* and the *De Legibus*. And it is not an exaggeration to maintain that to recover these two treatises in their entirety the majority of scholars would cheerfully resign to oblivion the other twelve fragmentary parts of Cicero's philosophical collection.

⁴¹ These are all from his early practice: *Pro P. Quinctio*, *Pro Q. Roscio Comoedo*, *Pro M. Tullio*, *Pro A. Caecina*.

JUVENAL AND RELIGION

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The castigation of vice is a task not necessarily confined to the religious. The moral support derived from a belief in an outraged deity obviously gives certain advantages to a writer who feels called upon to expose and correct the evil tendencies of his fellows, but, as the present age shows, even the professed unbeliever can turn his hand to the job. Perhaps here again the twentieth century is returning to the ways of the first, and so it may be profitable to inquire what attitude to religion is shown in the writings of the Roman satirists, who attacked much the same evils as disgrace the world to-day. It is the aim of this paper to show what opinions on matters of religion are expressed in the satires of Juvenal.

That various forms of religion are among the abuses which he attacked does not prove that he was himself lacking in religious feeling. These attacks are directed, almost without exception, either at the gods of mythology or at the newly imported religions of the East. The intrigue of Mars and Venus which sets a type for adultery,¹ or such stock heroes of rustic amours as the Mars and Jupiter of vi, 59 are no Roman gods, but literary Greek characters. The conservative Juvenal has no use for this Greek mythology; see, for instance, his scornful allusion to Daedalus, "the flying blacksmith."² For the *di peregrini* and their worshipers his feeling is of scorn. It is the impious man who calls upon Isis to strike him blind with her sistrum, if only he may keep his ill-gotten gains.³ The temple of Isis is a regular rendezvous for immorality,⁴ and the priests of the Egyptian triad exert their baneful

¹ ii, 31; cf. xvi, 5. ² i, 54.

³ xiii, 92-94. ⁴ vi, 489; ix, 22.

influence on the minds of credulous women.⁵ Isis, too, is the goddess of the shipwrecked sailor turned mendicant—*pictores quis nescit ab Iside pasci?*⁶ The Jews are fiercely attacked for their selfish, anti-social exclusiveness,⁷ for their cut-price venality as interpreters of dreams,⁸ and for their failure to respect the traditional sacred spots at Rome.⁹ They even move Juvenal to mirth with their prejudice against pigs,¹⁰ and laughter is not his usual weapon; he has few moments of levity. Bellona, who drives her devotees to crazy prophecy,¹¹ and Cybele supply Rome with eunuch priests to terrify their female votaries with penance, unless a suitable bribe is forthcoming.¹² Yet the *hospes* who received Cybele into the city can be cited as an example of holiness,¹³ and this is in keeping with Juvenal's theology. The *Magna Mater* had been brought to Rome by special invitation in 204, a last religious expedient in the black days at the end of the Hannibalic war, and as a deity of the state she is to be respected, so long as her worship is conducted with decent, Roman restraint.

For the old forms of religion, Juvenal does possess a feeling of respect, and he has a noticeable interest in the old ceremonial. He mentions the dance of the Salii¹⁴ and the running of the Luperci,¹⁵ he remembers that it is fitting for men alone to sacrifice a pig to Silvanus;¹⁶ he records that the proper dedication of the *devotio* is *dis infernis Terraequae parenti*,¹⁷ but this goddess has certainly no connection in his mind with the *Bona Dea* at whose rites sexual orgies are committed by women of his own day¹⁸ and by male perverts.¹⁹ So also these *di inferni* have no place in the new-fangled conception of the underworld, in which not even an intelligent boy has any belief.²⁰ It is the underworld as charted by Vergil which Juvenal must paint for his readers,²¹ and, in spite of his respect for the great poet,²² a respect not beyond the touch of a barbed jest,²³ he feels that there was a better state of affairs in the days when the gods themselves performed the function of the *vates*, and Aius Locutius spoke the warnings of a deity who cared

⁵ vi, 526-541.

⁶ xii, 28.

⁷ xiv, 96-106.

⁸ vi, 542-547.

⁹ iii, 12-14.

¹⁰ vi, 159 f.

¹¹ iv, 123 f.

¹² vi, 511-526.

¹³ iii, 137 f.

¹⁴ ii, 124-126.

¹⁵ ii, 142.

¹⁶ vi, 445-447.

¹⁷ viii, 255-257.

¹⁸ vi, 314-341.

¹⁹ ii, 86-92.

²⁰ ii, 149-152.

²¹ iii, 264-267.

²² xi, 180 f.

²³ vii, 69-71.

for his people, *fictilis et nullo violatus Juppiter auro*.²⁴ In those good old days there was no heaven above the clouds crowded with divinities, there was no tripartite Greek division of divine supremacy, *sed infernis hilares sine regibus umbrae*.²⁵ A man is a fool to believe that there is any god in temple or at altar,²⁶ for Mars Ultor was not in his temple even to keep robbers from plundering its treasures.²⁷ Violation of temples and statues has become quite common,²⁸ but the old gods of Rome, as the Romans knew, were spirits, represented by no graven images.²⁹

It is only fitting that the deity for whom Juvenal shows the most marked respect should be Ceres, a goddess who came from the fields. In the one satire written as coming chiefly from the mouth of an interlocutor, Umbrius bids Juvenal invite him to his Ceres and Diana.³⁰ Elsewhere it is mentioned that there are few women chaste enough to touch the *vittae* of the goddess,³¹ and that the wicked son sells his perjuries while touching the altar *even* of Ceres.³² The gallant, to be sure, frequents her temple among others when making his assignations, but it is after the name of Ceres that the poet introduces his palliating comment *nam quo non prostat femina templo?*³³ The implication of special respect for Ceres, which might easily be overlooked in the last three citations, is definitely confirmed by the inscription at Aquinum,³⁴ a dedication to Ceres made by the poet, as there seems no reason to doubt.

His personal worship is not, however, confined to Ceres. He describes himself as offering sacrifice on the safe delivery of a friend from a storm-tossed voyage, and it is a formal sacrifice to Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, the Capitoline triad.³⁵ Further, when this ceremony is completed, he will make a personal offering to the Jupiter and Lares of his own household.³⁶ The Lares he seems to regard with real reverence, which can be felt even when the mention of them is placed in the mouth of the reprobate Naevolus:

O parvi nostrique Lares, quos ture minuto
aut farre et tenui soleo exorare corona.³⁷

²⁴ xi, 111-116.

²⁶ xiii, 42-52.

²⁸ xiii, 34-37.

²⁷ xiv, 261 f.

²⁵ xiii, 147-152.

²⁹ Varro, apud Augustinum, *De Civ. Dei* iv, 31.

³⁰ iii, 320.

³¹ vi, 50.

³² xiv, 218 f..

³³ ix, 24.

³⁴ Orelli, 5599 = *C.I.L.* x, 5382.

³⁵ xii, 1-6.

³⁶ xii, 83-92.

³⁷ ix, 134-138.

The reference to a sacrifice to Terminus in xvi, 38 f. does not seem to belong to quite the same strain, though one's verdict on such a point is, unfortunately, bound to be mainly subjective.

Along with other innovations in religion, Caesar-worship does not kindle any enthusiasm in Juvenal. There is a bitter sneer at the imperial power *dis aequa potestas*,³⁸ and the account of the infamy attributed to the wife of Claudius is introduced with the words *respice rivales divisorum*.³⁹ Nor has the worship of deified abstractions any appeal for him. There are only two references to it. One pretends surprise that *Pecunia* has not a temple as well as such recognized deities as *Pax*, *Fides*, and *Concordia*.⁴⁰ In the other, by a forced antithesis, the altar of *Pudicitia* is chosen as the spot for the licentious revels of the matrons of Rome.⁴¹

Juvenal's religious beliefs are not, however, centered entirely on the old Roman deities. He is deeply tinged with Stoic views of predestination. *Fata regunt homines*.⁴² This is an astral determinism; it is *fati . . . hora benigni* which weighs more than the commendation of the gods.⁴³ *Fata*, the stars and the personified *Fortuna*, inextricably joined, control the lives of men:

Distat enim quae
sidera te excipiant modo primos incipientem
edere vagitus et adhuc a matre rubentem.
si Fortuna volet, fies de rhetore consul;
si volet haec eadem, fiet de consule rhetor.
Ventidius quid enim? Quid Tullius? anne aliud quam
sidus et occulti miranda potentia fati?
servis regna dabunt, captivis fata triumphum.⁴⁴

This *Fortuna* is a capricious power, raising the lowly to the seats of the mighty,⁴⁵ and smiling on the supposititious children whom she sets in great houses.⁴⁶ It is the instability of man which gives her this power and makes her a goddess.⁴⁷ *Fatum* also can be personified, as the Greek Parcae, spinning the thread of destiny,⁴⁸ and can be considered on an equal footing with the gods. Demosthenes was born with both hostile to him; *dis ille adversis genitus*

³⁸ iv, 71.

³⁹ vi, 115.

⁴⁰ i, 113-116.

⁴¹ vi, 306-308.

⁴² ix, 32.

⁴³ xvi, 4-6.

⁴⁴ vii, 194-201.

⁴⁵ iii, 39 f.

⁴⁶ vi, 602-609.

⁴⁷ x, 365 f.; xiv, 315 f.

⁴⁸ xii, 63-66; cf. x, 251 f.

fatoque sinistro,⁴⁹ here the two powers are represented as equal.

The gods, taken as a collective body, can be spiteful as well as kind. They readily grant ill-judged requests to man's hurt,⁵⁰ and yet they can be more merciful to the poor man than his fellows are,⁵¹ and they are more kindly to man than man himself.⁵² So *fata*—for the singular and plural are used with no distinction of meaning—can be unfavorable⁵³ or favorable,⁵⁴ or the word may not imply either good or evil tendency.⁵⁵ Quite definitely, however, those who profess to foretell the future and trace the paths of destiny are an evil brood, rascally Oriental tricksters all of them.⁵⁶ Here again it is the conservative Roman who passes judgment.

The satires of Juvenal, then, give a picture of their author as a man with an honest belief in the old Roman deities, hating new and foreign beliefs, and seeing the world governed by some power of destiny which is also the power of the gods. Though he is rather a conformist than a sincerely religious man, certainly no charge of atheism can be laid against the author who wrote the words:

Permittes ipsis expendere numinibus quid
conveniat nobis rebusque sit utile nostris.
nam pro iucundis aptissima quaeque dabunt di;
carior est illis homo quam sibi.⁵⁷

⁴⁹ x, 129.

⁵⁰ x, 7 f., 111.

⁵¹ iii, 145 f.

⁵² x, 349 f.

⁵³ xiii, 156.

⁵⁴ vii, 189 f.

⁵⁵ xiii, 104.

⁵⁶ vi, 548-591.

⁵⁷ x, 347-350.

Notes

[All contributions in the form of notes for this department should be sent directly to Roy C. Flickinger, State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia.]

REMIGIO ALARUM

In *Aeneid* I, 300 f. Vergil thus describes the flight of Mercury:

Volat ille per aëra magnum
remigio alarum ac Libyae citus astitit oris.

Roman writers not infrequently call wings oars,¹ but instances of flying regarded as rowing are less numerous. The oldest extant European example seems to be that of Aeschylus, *Agamemnon* 52, where vultures are pictured as πτερύγων ἔρετμοῖσιν ἔρεσσόμεναι. Euripides, *Ion* 161 speaks of a swan as "rowing," and in *Iphigenia among the Taurians* 289 he represents Pylades as fighting a dragon that rowed with wings. According to Lucian, *Icaromenippus* 10, Menippus tried to learn to fly by rowing with his hands.²

Modern writers, too, have noted the resemblance of flying to rowing. Lowell makes effective use of the conceit in "My Garden Acquaintance," an essay in *My Study Windows*: "The chimney-swallows leave us early . . . , apparently so soon as their latest fledglings are firm enough of wing to attempt the long rowing-match that is before them."

A garden acquaintance of another author, Emily Dickinson, rowed home with a morsel of food:

¹ For example, Ovid, *Ars. Am.* II, 45: Remigium volucrum disponit in ordine pinnas; Apullius, *Met.* v, 25: remigio plumae, and *De Deo Socrat.* VIII, 140: cum illis (avibus) fessa sunt remigia pinnarum terra ceu portus est; Silius Italicus XII, 98: pennarum remis. The Countess of Pembroke, *Ps.* LXVIII, 4, mentions a dove "That glides with feathered oar through wavy sky."

² A somewhat similar use occurs in Ovid, *Epist.* XVII, 215: Cum patietur hiemps remis ego corporis utar.

... cautious
 I offered him [a robin] a crumb
 And he unrolled his feathers
 And rowed him softer home

Than oars divide the ocean,
 Too silver for a seam,
 Or butterflies, off banks of noon,
 Leap, splashless, as they swim.³

An example of rowing under water by means of wings occurs in Robert Bridges' "Eros and Psyche, September 6":

Into the middle deep then down he [a gull] dived,
 And rowing with his glistening wings, arrived
 At Aphrodite's bower beneath the sea.

In Milton's *Paradise Lost* VII, 438 f., the feet of a bird are used as oars:

... the swan, with arched neck
 Between her white wings mantling proudly, rows
 Her state with oary feet.

Several school editions of Vergil give "by the oarage of his wings" as a translation of *remigio alarum*. This is a good rendering, but the uses of the word "row" by Lowell, Miss Dickinson, and Bridges convince me that their word paints a far more vivid picture of flying than does the impressive word "oarage," which is better for *remigium* in a concrete sense, as in *Aeneid* VI, 18 f., where it is applied to the wings of Daedalus:

Redditus his primum terris tibi, Phoebe, sacravit
 remigium alarum posuitque immania templa.

"Oarage" is also suitable as a translation for *remigium* to designate the wings of Icarus in Ovid, *Met.* VIII, 227 f.:

... nudos quatit ille lacertos
 remigioque carens non ulla percipit auras.⁴

A textbook paraphrase of the two words under discussion, "with a rowing movement of his wings," impairs the effectiveness of the

³ Cf. *The Complete Poems of Emily Dickinson*: Boston, Little Brown & Co. (1925), p. 91.

⁴ In Apuleius, *Met.* VI, 15 the actions of an eagle are thus described: *remigium dextera laeaque porrigena*.

figure. The explanation "propelled by his wings" encourages the student to strip away poetic touches instead of reproducing them. "By oaring of wings" suggests movement more clearly than does "by the oarage of his wings," but in my own imagination Mercury now flies through the vast expanse of air "with rowing of wings."

From the point of view of the Greek, who delighted in putting side by side words which are etymologically related,⁵ "oared by the oaring of their wings" would be a better translation of the words quoted from Aeschylus than is the version of the Loeb Classical Library, "driven by the oarage of their pinions."

If it is true that a satisfactory rendering of a work on mining can be made from one language to another only by a mining engineer, is it not equally true that in translating poetry we need the help of poets or of poetic insight?

Strange to say, the critic Quintilian could not bring himself to speak of birds as "rowing with wings" (*At ego in agendo nec "pastorem populi" . . . dixerim, nec volucres "pennis remigare"*),⁶ although he did grant the aptness of Vergil's metaphors (*licet Vergilius in apibus⁷ ac Daedalo speciosissime sit usus*).

In this instance schoolmaster Quintilian's customary good taste failed him. As we have seen, the Greeks employed the figure. If Quintilian thought that it could not be successfully transferred to Latin he was mistaken. Effective use of it was made by Lucretius (vi, 742 f.), who picturesquely describes birds flying through the poisonous fumes of Avernus as "forgetting to row," and he even amplifies the nautical figure:⁸

. . . cum venere volantes
remigi oblita pennarum vela remittunt.⁹

One of the comparatively few poetic touches in the pedestrian work of Pliny the Elder¹⁰ is his comparison of the scorpion's

⁵ Poe uses this device in "Dream-Land": "But the traveller travelling through it."

⁶ Cf. *Inst. Orat.* VIII, 6, 18.

⁷ Since the indexes to Vergil do not list the verb *remigo* Quintilian is doubtless guilty of a lapse of memory. In *Georgics* IV, 58 f. we find bees pictured as swimming: *ad sidera caeli nare per aestatem liquidam*.

⁸ Other continuations of the figure are to be found in Apuleius, *Flor.* 2: *modico caudae gubernaculo*, and in his *De Deo Socrat.*, as quoted in n. 1.

⁹ Note also Apuleius *Flor.* 2: *pinnarum eminens indefessa remigia*, and *Met.* v, 25: *remigio plumae raptum maritum.* ¹⁰ Cf. *Nat. Hist.* xi, 88.

bracchia to oars: *Hoc malum Africae volucre etiam austri faciunt pandentibus bracchia ut remigia sublevantes.*¹¹ If prosaic Pliny could see in the locomotion of a scorpion some resemblance to rowing, Quintilian should have been able to imagine a little poetry in the graceful flying of a bird.¹² We ourselves experienced no feelings of impropriety when nautical terms were first employed in aviation. Perhaps Quintilian had become prejudiced against the figure from seeing clumsy efforts of poetasters to make birds row.

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GERMANICUS AND AENEAS

Tacitus is relating the events of the year A.D. 18 (*Annales* II, 53). Germanicus had become consul for the second time on that date with Tiberius as his colleague. The former entered into office at the famous "victory city" of Nicopolis, which was founded by Augustus in 30 B.C. on the ground where his forces had encamped before the battle of Actium. Germanicus had previously visited his brother Drusus in Dalmatia, farther north, and had sailed down the Illyrian coast. During this voyage a storm was encountered, *Hadriatici ac mox Ionii maris adversam navigationem perpessus*. The historian then proceeds:

Igitur paucos dies insumpsit reficiendae classi; simul sinus Actiaca victoria inclutus et sacratas ab Augusto manubias castraque Antonii cum recordatione maiorum suorum adiit. Namque ei, ut memoravi, avunculus Augustus, avus Antonius erant, magnaque illic imago tristium laetorumque.

Tacitus may have felt the general similarity between the picture drawn here of an historical event and the poet's grand canvas in the *Aeneid* (I, 81-123) of the storm on the African coast and the subsequent coming to harbor of Aeneas and his weary ships (*fessas . . . navis*, 168). Then follows the familiar scene (453-478) where Aeneas experienced profound sorrow as well as great joy as he beheld in an alien land, although in the form of a *pictura*

¹¹ Pliny continues this passage as follows: Appollodorus idem plane quibusdam inesse pinnas tradit.

¹² In both Greek and Latin oars may be called "wings." Cf. Homer, *Odyss.* xi, 125, and *Propertius* IV, 6, 47.

inanis (464), the record of a famous war, when Greek met Trojan. According to Tacitus, Germanicus took refuge in the bay of Actium after a storm; while his ships were being refitted, he paid a visit to the battle-monument erected by Augustus after his victory and to the site of the camp of his defeated opponents, Antony and Cleopatra. Elsewhere (*Aen.* III, 278-288), as every schoolboy knows, Vergil has paid a significant tribute to the victor of the battle of Actium. There he depicts Aeneas taking part in a dedicatory ceremony wherein a Greek shield, with an appropriate inscription, is hung on the pillars of a temple on these same shores.

If one is justified in drawing a comparison here, Tacitus would seem, then, to agree with those who, like the late Professor Conway,¹ held that the tragedy of Dido in the epic of Vergil had more than antiquarian interest for the poet's contemporaries. Another African queen had played with the affections of Antony and of Julius Caesar. Tacitus, many years after, without intending to do so overtly, may have given us a glimpse of his mind at work in an association of ideas. Germanicus, a scion of the stock of Aeneas,² landed after a storm on shores made famous both by Vergil's hero and by Augustus. Greeks and Trojans once more had met in combat at another Troy, though a lesser one (*parva Troia*, *Aen.* III, 349). As a matter of fact, the victory of Actium was the downfall not of Antony only but of Antony and the Grecian queen, Cleopatra, although Tacitus does not mention Antony's associate in this passage.

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¹ Cf. R. S. Conway, "Poesia ed Imperio," apud *Conferenze Virgiliane tenute alla Università Cattolica*: Milan, Società Editrice "Vita e Pensiero" (1931), 25.

² Cf. *Ann.* IV, 9, where the *imago* of Aeneas is carried in the funeral procession of Drusus, the brother of Germanicus.

Book Reviews

[Review copies of classical books should be sent to the Editorial Office of the JOURNAL at Washington University, St. Louis, Mo. Such works will always be listed in the department of Recent Books, and those which seem most important to the readers of the JOURNAL will also be reviewed in this department. The editor-in-chief reserves the right of appointing reviewers.]

PAUL FRÉDÉRIC SAINTONGE, LESLIE GALE BURGEVIN, AND HELEN GRIFFITH, *Horace—Three Phases of His Influence*, with a Foreword by Cornelia C. Coulter. Lectures given at Mt. Holyoke College in connection with the celebration of the *Bimillennium Horatianum*, 1935: Chicago, The University of Chicago Press (1936). Pp. vi+120. \$1.

As we read on the jacket enclosing the little volume, "for almost two thousand years the world has borne the impress of a mind so subtle that today the tracing of its influence becomes a difficult task." In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that influence was widely felt in England; in France it was even more potent in those two centuries and in the sixteenth. Two striking illustrations are found in the cases of Ronsard and Montaigne, the subject of Mr. Saintonge's lecture. Horace was universally popular in France even in the Middle Ages, as may be inferred from the fact that more manuscripts of Horace existed in that country—some 250 of French origin—than in any other land. And later it was the guiding hand of Horace, rather than that of Pindar or Anacreon, that helped to make Ronsard one of the greatest lyric poets of France. He took from Horace what he calls the "perfect art" and made it his own; and the more closely he keeps to Horace's art and philosophy of life, not following in servile imitation but expressing Gallic temperament and Gallic spirit, the better he is.

Equally under the spell of Horace was Montaigne. The French essayist was so steeped in the thoughts and words of the freedman's son that through Horace he discovered himself—his *moi*;

Horace became his guide in his way of life; and the words of the Latin poet dropped easily and often from his pen.

Mr. Burgevin in his contribution, entitled "A Little Farm, the Horatian Concept of Rural Felicity in English Literature," has considerable difficulty in sticking to his theme. Somewhat more than one-third of his lecture is devoted to the debt of English literature to the classics in general and to Horace in particular, before he arrives at the "Little Farm" at all. Then, after a bit of the sixth Satire of Book II and a more or less irrelevant discussion of the familiar political situation following Philippi, we find Mat Prior by a clever imitation of Horace getting from Lord Harley the gift of his little farm and a life-lease of Down Hall. In a similar manner Swift receives from the same English Maecenas his home in Dublin city as a perquisite to the deanship of St. Patrick's—anything but "rural felicity" for poor Swift!

The "concept of rural felicity" is, moreover, not peculiarly Horatian, as the author seems to imply. Horace was not the first or the only person to feel the irritation of the noise and confusion of a busy city or to give expression to such feeling. The influence of Horace on Sir Thomas Wyatt, Thomas Randolph, Abraham Cowley, and the rest is not made obvious. All that they have had to say of the joys of country life, leisure for reading, the society of congenial friends, and all that, they might just as well have written if Horace had never been born. Any influence of the Sabine Farm on the writings of these men, though they were doubtless familiar with Horace, as all educated men in their days were, is difficult to establish.

In the third lecture, "The Horatian Strain in Literary Criticism," Miss Griffith presents in clear and interesting form the long accepted principles of literary criticism laid down by Horace in the *Ars Poetica* and *Epistles* II and here and there in *Epistles* I and the *Satires*. The elements of Horatian criticism—(1) the poet's relation to the state, (2) his use of models, and (3) his craftsmanship, fine writing for the cultivated few—are analyzed with clearness and force. The lecture closes with a resumé of the history of Horace as a textbook.

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WHITNEY JENNINGS OATES, *The Influence of Simonides of Ceos Upon Horace*: Princeton, Princeton University Press (1932). Pp. 110. \$2.00.

This Ph.D. thesis will be interesting reading for anyone whose study leads him to the poems of Simonides or Horace. Allusions to the influence of the Greek poet upon the later Roman have appeared frequently in the history of scholarship, but here, in brief compass, is a very thorough study of the subject.

The first instance of Simonidean influence on Horace which the author has occasion to mention concerns *Carm.* III, 2, "the second Roman ode," and Oates devotes half of his book to this ode, including some introductory material.

He assumes, justly enough, that Simonides was known to the literati of Rome in Horace's day, that his poems were read, that his high standing as a poet was acknowledged, and that some incidents of his life were common property.

As the first incidents of Simonides' life which would impress the minds of his readers Oates singles out the two miraculous escapes from death, the sources for which, fragments of Simonides and many other Greek and Latin writers, are given and critically discussed. These two occasions are the well-known collapse of the house of Scopas, from which Castor and Pollux had summoned Simonides, and the perhaps somewhat less likely avoidance of shipwreck upon the advice of a friendly ghost.

Likewise, Horace says that a god saved him when he was hard pressed at Philippi; that when he was a boy the "storied doves" of the Muses hid him beneath leaves from bears and serpents. Four times he rejoices over his escape from a falling tree, which must have been planted by a profane hand on an unlucky day; and in a lonely line he hints at near-death where Palinurus met his fate.

It is the "sacrosanctity of the poet," says Oates, (p. 20) that Simonides and Horace were extolling.

This brings us back to the poem under discussion, for after Oates has analyzed it, and has examined all authorities and questions regarding the two Simonidean quotations it contains,

he asks why Horace out of a clear sky, mentions together the danger of being with an impious man "under the same roof" and "on the same ship." His answer is that Horace was thus implicitly reminding his audience of Simonides, from whom he was not only quoting two lines, but from whose pen he actually had before him a complete poem on the same theme as *Carm.* III, 2, "An Ode on Civic Virtue." Oates then concludes this chapter by arranging seven of the fragments of Simonides as he thinks they may have occurred in this reconstructed poem.

Having reviewed this chapter at such length, we can only say that *Carm.* I, 28 and IV, 7 are next taken up, with briefer but satisfactory interpretation, and in a final chapter all the fragments of Simonides which seem to the author to find any reflection in Horatian lines are examined. In the entire book, forty-five fragments are cited, not, as Oates writes (p. 107), "to prove necessarily a direct and conscious imitation by Horace of the several individual passages," but "to show that in many respects the two poets had a *Weltanschauung* in common," and to prove that of the three poems principally dealt with (p. 108), "a far more accurate interpretation becomes available when it is shown that *Simonidea* served Horace as model and inspiration."

The few stylistic blemishes, such as "In treating above the incident" (p. 20) and "the closest expressive of the idea" (p. 36), do not keep this book from being valuable and interesting. It is worthy of more permanence than its paper binding can assure us.

FRED L. FARLEY

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ARISTOTLE, *The Physics*, with an English Translation by Philip H. Wicksteed and Francis M. Cornford, In Two Volumes, Vol. II (Loeb Classical Library): Cambridge, Harvard University Press; London, William Heinemann Ltd. (1934). Pp. viii + 440. \$2.50; 10s.

Although Mr. Cornford has been in the difficult position of completing a work well begun by another, the edition has not suffered by the change. The great value of this scholarly text and transla-

tion may be seen by comparing a translated passage chosen at random with the same as translated by Thomas Taylor in 1812.

224A, 21-25 (Taylor): Every thing, however, which is changed, is changed partly from accident, as when we say, that what is musical walks, because that walks to which being musical is an accident; and partly because something belonging to this is changed, as for instance, such things as are said to be changed according to parts . . .

(Loeb Edition): When we say that anything moves or changes, it may be that the change mentioned is incidental to some other change or dependent on it; as we might say "here comes Culture," when it is really the apostle of culture who "comes," and incidentally brings culture with him. Or it may be that we ascribe to a whole a change that has taken place in some one of its parts. . . .

The volume under review contains Books v-viii, to which the ancients referred as *On Movement*. Book v is given over to a detailed analysis of *κίνησις* and *μεταβολή*. A study of Book vi, which is concerned with the continuity of magnitude, time, and change, and a criticism of Zeno's paradoxes, will reward the reader with an introduction to the problems of space and time. A. N. Whitehead, of Harvard, in many ways a spiritual descendant of Aristotle, likewise departs from Zeno's "bucket" conception of space, regarding it and time as "abstractions" from "the passage of nature," a fact that Aristotle made basic in his natural philosophy. The discussion in Books vii and viii leads up to the conclusion that "all change and motion in the universe are ultimately caused by a Prime Mover that is itself unchanging and unmoved and is not dimensional," a view also set forth in Book *Lambda* of the *Metaphysics*. These last two books vindicate *The Physics* as a work "to lead the plain man beyond his own range into a region bordering upon that of a mystic, by showing him that natural science points beyond itself to a 'divine world'." But we may well ask how far Aristotle is justified in this Platonic supernaturalism in the light of his essentially naturalistic point of view.

In the Introduction to volume i of this edition of *The Physics* the original translator, Philip Wicksteed, tells us that the present translation was inspired by the conviction that contemporary philosophic discussion is seriously handicapped by the fact that Aristotle's *Physics* is practically unread. The value of *The Physics*

in philosophic enterprise lies in its being concerned with the field lying between, yet overlapping, physics and metaphysics, an area often tilled since the *Einstein Revolution*.

The second volume of *The Physics* does not have the importance that it would have if the authenticity of Books V, VI, and VII were unquestioned. These books are regarded by some scholars as the work of competent Aristotelians, but as never having seen the hand of the Master. The volume contains a full page of corrections to be made in the first volume. A detailed index to the two volumes adds appreciably to their usefulness.

J. R. D. BROWN

JACKSONVILLE, ILLINOIS

Pindari Carmina cum Fragmentis, edited by C. M. Bowra: New York, Oxford University Press (1935). \$3.00

This edition keeps up the high standard set for the Oxford texts. The work is thoroughly done. A slight difference in the treatment of lines from that of the Teubner makes an improvement. Lines are compacted, and thus the division of the long lines does not occur so frequently.

Material is added. Four new fragments appear, numbered 341-344, from the *Pap. Berolini inedit*. These fragments are not complete enough to be intelligible, and they offer no new words. In the fragments the following are also additional: frag. 8, from Eustathius *Od.* 1715, 63; frag. 12, from Aristides II, 142 (Dindorf); frag. 19B, from Plutarch, *de Rom. Fort.* 10, p. 320; frag. 22, from Lactantius, *Comment. Stat. Theb.* II, 85 (Jahnke). Besides these there are many small fragments from the *Hymns*, and references to them, taken especially from the scholia on Pindar. Of the *Paeans*, X, XI, and XII, and some fragments are new. Bowra follows Turyn¹ in including many fragments from Grenfell-Hunt, *The Oxyrhyncus Papyri*.

A revised *Index Nominum* makes provision for new numbering, as in *Isth.* IV, 60 for III, 79 of Schroeder's text, and for the inclusion of the new fragments. Notes also on the fragments are fuller.

Out of the mass of manuscripts extant Bowra chooses seven to

¹ Alexander Turyn, *De Codicibus Pindaricis*: Cracow, Gebethner and Wolff (1932).

which he attaches importance, though he is not always in agreement with Turyn on their relative value. While it is evident that he owes much to the work of Turyn, at the outset he professes to follow neither his work nor that of Schroeder. A study of his text shows that he chooses readings independently. With Schroeder's division of the manuscripts into two families, the *Vaticani* and the *Ambrosiani*, he does not agree. Following Turyn, he concludes, for example, that manuscripts N (*Ambr.* 103, *saec.* XIV) and O (*Leid. Q.* 4, *saec.* XIII) have no authority. The single manuscript, he declares, sometimes has such authority that the family has to be disregarded. V (*Paris gr.* 2403, *saec.* XIV) does not fit in with this division: sometimes it agrees with the *Vaticani* and sometimes with the *Ambrosiani*. Turyn attaches little importance to C (*Paris gr.* 2774, *saec.* XIV); Bowra thinks highly of it. The eclectic system which Bowra himself follows, of course, introduces something of the subjective, a condition which cannot perhaps be avoided. For example, when the manuscripts disagree, he gives the following rule: *lectio est illa praferenda quae cum sensu, metro, scholiis, usu grammatico optime congruit*. Yet the result is a careful and satisfying piece of work. His conclusion is that all existing manuscripts come from one archetype, which is itself no earlier than the second century A.D.

In a brief review, a lengthy discussion of disputed readings is impossible. One or two may be noted. It seems likely that the comma after *ἀθροῖσι* (*Pyth.* IV, 130) is a slip. In the same ode (vs. 253), Bowra accepts *ἴν'*, the conjecture of Kayser for the manuscript reading *κρίσιν*, taken, as Gildersleeve's note on the reading suggests, from the scholion, which gives the explanation, *ἀνδρεῖαν*. The conjectured reading makes the passage easier. The same result is got from the reading adopted in *Pyth.* V, 33. The manuscripts have *δώδεκα δρόμων τέμενος* or *δωδεκαδρόμων τέμενος*. Schroeder and Gildersleeve have *δωδεκάδρομον τέμενος*, a more difficult, but, some might say, a more Pindaric reading. Bowra follows Thiersch in his comparatively easy reading *δώδεκ'* *ἀνδρόμων τέμενος*.

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An Anthology of Greek Verse, Selected by E. S. Forster and T. B. L. Webster: Manchester, Manchester University Press (1935).

Professors Forster and Webster have now brought out a companion volume to their *Anthology of Greek Prose*, published in 1933. The present volume is of the same high standard of classical scholarship and literary taste as the preceding one. The first twenty-eight pages are devoted to a survey of Greek literature from its beginnings to the Greek *Anthology*, serving both as a general introduction to the subject and as a specific introduction to the authors represented in the *Anthology*. This is an admirable piece of work. It is brief and yet comprehensive, avoids the controversial in favor of the essential, and gives a clear and orderly exposition of the historical development of Greek poetry. (N. B. on p. 2 "complimentary" where "complementary" is meant.)

The selection of material for the *Anthology* has been made with great literary discrimination and with a view to giving the student a wide acquaintance with literary types in the important periods of Greek literary history. The book might have been made slightly more valuable for teaching purposes by the addition of about ten more pages devoted to a wider selection from the earlier poets, e.g. Archilochus, Alcaeus, Semonides of Amorgus, Anacreon, Simonides of Ceos, and especially, Sappho. However, these are all represented, though briefly, and it is perhaps captious to criticize such a small detail in a book which is otherwise so excellent in every respect.

The Greek text is admirable for its accuracy, the typography is excellent, and the general physical appearance of the book is attractive. It can be recommended enthusiastically for use in college courses in Greek.

ROYAL CASE NEMIAH

DARTMOUTH COLLEGE

Hints for Teachers

[Edited by Dorothy M. Bell, Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio. The aims of this department are threefold: to assist the inexperienced teacher of Latin, to help the experienced teacher keep in touch with matters of interest to the professional world, and to serve as a receiving center and distributing point for questions and contributions on teaching problems. Questions will be answered by mail or in the pages of this department. Contributions in the form of short paragraphs dealing with projects, tests, interest devices, methods, and material are requested. Anything intended for publication should be typed on stationery of regular size. All correspondence should be addressed to the editor of this department.]

First Aid for the Latin Teacher¹

There is hardly a Latin teacher in the country who is not suffering from a depression of the spirit that has lasted three or five or seven years. We seem to struggle without getting anywhere. We are constantly astonished over the gaps in the knowledge of our pupils. We find them writing very poorly and unable to distinguish a script *r* from a script *v*, *b* from *f*, or *q* from *g*. Their spelling is poor, their enunciation poorer still. They do not know the Nile from the Alps, or either from the Mediterranean. They cannot tell you the sound of the letter *p* by itself, or of any other letter, for the alphabet as a collection of different symbols and sounds does not exist for them at all.

But let us take heart! These conditions exist all over the country and the Latin teachers are not responsible for their occurrence. They have happened because a great change has taken place in elementary schools. This change seems to have cut some of our ground from under our feet, but it really offers us the greatest opportunity we have ever had to teach Latin thoroughly. For we can begin at the very beginning to create word consciousness and language consciousness in children who now do not know a verb

¹ From a paper read before the Classical Section of the East Tennessee Education Association, October 29, 1937.

from a noun, nor understand any of the other interesting facts of language.

It is not enough, however, for us to list the things our pupils do not know and proceed to supplement those points in our Latin classes. The very dispositions and many of the attitudes of our new pupils are different from those we used to find in children. They are willing to listen to each other, make reports, or conduct the business of the class; they are socially inclined—too much so for our comfort sometimes, they are rather touchy and independent, they are much more outspoken than children were a decade ago, they are full of plans and suggestions—often inconveniently so. They do not know what it means to memorize; they have not the faintest idea how to go about doing it. Yet out of these pupils we can make as fine classes as we have ever taught, if we study these children and adapt our work to their habits and attitudes and capital of knowledge.

What is the practical thing to do? Let us begin with short sentences about a picture till pupils see that words are of different kinds. They will note that an *action word* ends with the sign of the person who did the action. They will see that the *thing word* ends one way if the *thing* performs the action, and another way if it receives the action. They will pass very soon to using the term *verb* instead of *action word*, if you add *verb* every time you speak of the *action word*. But many of our troubles arise because we begin talking about verbs and nouns when the pupils have never even heard those words.

But we should do more like this. We must parallel all our Latin grammar as it unfolds in class by the corresponding English. When we see a direct object, we should find out how that helps us decide what is right in "They sent James and (*I* or *me*)," and in "The man (*who* or *whom*) I met." When we make adjectives agree with their nouns in Latin, let us also make *this* agree with *sort* and *that* with *kind* in our own language. Only people who have studied Latin seem to know how to manage the agreements in relative clauses in English. "He is one of the men who (*come* or *comes*) to fix the gas," and "She is the one of the group who (*come* or *comes*) to our church." When we study the subjunctive, too, we should

show its prevalence in English, "All rise, please," "I move that he be . . .," "Thy will be done."

The subjunctive mood is an excellent place to practice our theory of teaching the underlying idea of a grammatical term before we use the term or expect the pupils to use it. After we have stated the facts in all possible times and in both voices for all kinds of persons, is it not a pleasant and interesting thing to learn that there are ways of expressing all sorts of uncertainties, fears, wishes, purposes that may never come to pass? One teacher says that the indicative mood belongs to eight- and ten-years olds, and that when we are learning the subjunctive we are progressing into more grown-up things to say. At any rate let us keep the broad understanding of the things we are studying before our pupils rather than put our faith in learning rules and technical terms. Let us use short, vivid expressions wherever possible. One such simplification that has proved its usefulness is the phrase "verbs of mental process." Anything that happens above the chin governs an indirect statement. Can we not smell that the house is on fire, or taste that the custard was burned? Another teacher has shortened the learning of the dative of agent by saying, very colloquially, "It is up *to the boy*." *Omnia haec sunt agenda*, and it is up to us!

But devices are more or less superficial. We can study ways to change our work more fundamentally by studying the type of class for which our pupils have been prepared in their previous years of schooling. They have been accustomed to asking questions for each other to answer. This habit can fit perfectly into a Latin class. Suppose we are working on infinitives; let us put the principal parts of four strange verbs on the board with meanings. The teacher can start the ball rolling by asking perhaps for the translation of *fracturus esse*. The one who answers will make another infinitive from one of the other verbs for some other pupil to translate, and so on. The pupils will interest and instruct each other as long as the teacher thinks the exercise profitable. This sort of mutual drill can be used for any review of forms, while the teacher becomes a spectator.

Another outgrowth of this truly social spirit will be seen in the

willingness of pupils to ask each other questions to help correct a mistake. Pupils' questions will not always be the shortest route to correcting an error, but they are by far the most profitable way. For pupils listen to each other at such times with much more acuteness than they ever give to the teacher. Along this same line of class planning, the students write their own sentences expressing some experience out of everyday life in the vocabulary they are using. After the teacher has had a chance to inspect them, so that nothing that has missed the main idea goes on the blackboard, they have a chance to read each other's sentences. Here again the interest displayed in other pupils' sentences is much keener than the polite routine attention given to the composition from the book. In doing this kind of work, pupils see the need for learning the forms they have to use and the mechanical memorizing part of their task becomes very plainly necessary. Only under such evident need should they be expected to memorize. It is part of the work of the modern teacher to arrange the course so that the students use and need subjunctives, for example, before they memorize them. They get accustomed to grammatical ideas by using them, next they realize a need for the tools that express them, and last of all they do the necessary memorizing.

This brings us to the most important part of our reorganization of work, the assignment of the lesson. For it should be done very differently from the way we used to do it in the old-type class. We used to say, "Memorize this tonight, and recite it tomorrow, then we shall learn how to use it." But now our assignment must be something to work at, or work with, not just a mere memorizing of something new. Words doing something in sentences mean something to pupils. Words arranged in paradigms mean nothing to them. Even when we have worked long on indirect statement, for example, and it is time to be sure that we can produce any infinitive on demand, let us have for our assignment two or three sets of principal parts, so we can write those infinitives instead of just studying the model verbs.

The passage of our pupils through the elementary schools today has left them with some very definite gaps in their equipment and training that Latin is admirably adapted to close up for them.

We can improve their enunciation by opening their throats and getting some action from lips and tongue, if we practice admirably enough the beautiful sounds of the Roman speech. We can help them get the sounds of the separate letters of the alphabet. We can use accessory facts like classic symbols in architecture, the contrast between ancient arithmetic and the arabic numerals, mythological allusions, the growth of the alphabet, to help them gain ideas of the breadth and depth of civilization. Most important of all, we can show them how words in a sentence interact and how the main idea of a sentence should stand out by proper subordination of lesser ideas. Through the glorious richness of the Latin sentence we can show them the possibilities of the English sentence.

American education without Latin in its liberal arts curriculum will be an incredibly thin and poor affair. No one can push Latin out, however, if we respond to the needs and interests of our pupils, and answer the present situation by earnest thought and vigorous action. Let us remember Horace's words,

Nil mortalibus ardui est.

MILDRED DEAN

ROOSEVELT HIGH SCHOOL
WASHINGTON, D. C.

A Roman Supper

The following menu for a Roman supper was planned by the seniors of the Latin Department of MacMurray College with the help of Mary Johnston:

GUSTUS

Lactucae cum ovis sectis

Olivae non ex Piceno

PRIMA MENSA

Tomacula ferventia cum laganis et melle

SEGUNDA MENSA

Mala Persica secta

Caffea Arabica

Nurses

Latin Newspaper

The editor of this department wishes to acknowledge receipt of a copy of the October number of *Gens Togata*, published by the Latin classes of Latrobe High School, Latrobe, Pennsylvania, under the direction of Adeline E. Reeping. Printed in English, the paper contains short, interesting articles dealing with club news, reasons for studying Latin, items about famous Romans, etc.

Current Events

[Edited by Clarence W. Gleason, Roxbury Latin School, Boston, Mass., for territory covered by the Association of New England and the Atlantic States; Dwight N. Robinson, Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, Ohio, for the Middle States east of the Mississippi River; G. A. Harrer, the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C., for the Southeastern States; Russel M. Geer, Tulane University, New Orleans, La., for the Lower Mississippi Valley and the Southwest; Alfred P. Dorjahn, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill., and Franklin H. Potter, the University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia., for the Middle Western States. News from the Pacific Coast may be sent to Fred L. Farley, College of the Pacific, Stockton, Calif.]

This department will present everything that is properly news of general appeal, but considerations of space compel the editors to ask that items be made as brief as possible. Whenever feasible, it is preferable to print programs of meetings which would draw an attendance from a large area as live news in advance of the date rather than as dead news after the event. In this connection it should be remembered that the December issue, e.g., appears on November fifteenth and that items must be in hand five or six weeks in advance of the latter date.]

Connecticut

The CONNECTICUT SECTION of the CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF NEW ENGLAND met at St. Margaret's School, Waterbury, October 22. The morning program consisted of an address of welcome by Miss Alberta C. Edell, Headmistress of St. Margaret's, and two papers: "The Question Bee in Ancient Times," by Miss Josephine P. Bree, of Albertus Magnus College; "*Heri, Hodie, et Cras*," by Goodwin B. Beach, of Hartford. After lunch the papers were: "Living in Ancient Rome with Cicero," by Rollin H. Tanner, of New York University; "Memory and the Epic Technique in Oral Verse Making," by James A. Notopoulos, of Trinity College; "Report on the Latin Contest," by H. Allan Cohen, of Norwich Free Academy.

Illinois—Chicago

Professor Carl Axel Boëthius, Professor of Classical Archaeology and Ancient History at the University of Gothenburg, Sweden, came to the United States in October on the invitation of the Classical Department of the University of Chicago to be a Visiting Professor during the Autumn Quarter. He gave courses in the Archaeology of the Homeric Age and in the Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome. Professor Boëthius was formerly Director of the Swedish Archaeological Institute in Rome.

Illinois—Jacksonville

In honor of the Augustan Bimillennium two Seniors in the Latin Department of MacMurray College, Doris Michael and Emma Holle, arranged a Vergilian exhibit in the library of MacMurray College. This consisted of

photographs illustrative of Augustan art and architecture and of Italian farm-land, pamphlets, magazine articles and books dealing with Vergil, and some early printed editions of Vergil along with reproductions of pages of Vergil manuscripts. The exhibit was set up for the Ides of October and remained in place for ten days.

Indiana—Taylor University

Extremely encouraging reports on the status of Greek in that institution come from Taylor University, Upland, Indiana. In the academic year 1937-38 there were thirty-four students enrolled in the course in Beginning Greek, while this year the enrollment has mounted to forty-four, necessitating the division of the class into two sections. Professor James W. Pugsley, of Taylor University, certainly deserves the congratulations of his fellow-classicists on this fine showing.

Massachusetts—Williamstown

The WESTERN MASSACHUSETTS SECTION of the CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF NEW ENGLAND held its thirty-second annual meeting at Williams College, October 29. At the morning session Monroe N. Wetmore, of Williams College, welcomed the members of the Association. Two papers followed: "Satire in St. Jerome," by Mary Elizabeth Pence, of Stoneleigh-Prospect High School; "The Twilight of the Classics," by Charles H. Jones, of the Lebanon School. After a luncheon tendered by Williams College and a business meeting, two illustrated papers were read: "Recent Digs, their Chores and their Surprises," by Lucy T. Shoe, of Mt. Holyoke College; and "The Palace of Diocletian at Split," by William D. Gray, of Smith College.

Massachusetts—Worcester

From Holy Cross College, Worcester, Professor John C. Proctor, S.J., sends a "most encouraging report to the valiant men and women who are teaching Greek in our high schools, colleges, and universities." For the present academic year 300 men have elected Greek as candidates for the degree of Bachelor of Arts with honors. The course as prescribed for this degree is a two-year course of original Greek with an election in the junior year of Greek literature in English. In addition to the twenty-eight juniors and one senior taking this last course, twenty-four juniors are taking original Greek. This surely is good news for those of us who believe in the value of Greek as an important factor in the education and culture of our race.

Massachusetts—West Roxbury

Clarence W. Gleason, Associate Editor of the *CLASSICAL JOURNAL*, highly esteemed teacher in the Roxbury Latin School, and loved by all who know him, is now engaged in his fiftieth year of teaching. Our sincerest congratulations! When we talk to Gleason we are convinced that fifty years of teaching cannot be a very long time.

E. T.

New Hampshire

The CLASSICAL SECTION of the STATE TEACHERS ASSOCIATION met at the Concord High School on October 21, with Mr. John E. Bourne presiding. The speaker was Rev. Stephen A. Mulcahy, S.J., of the Graduate School of Boston College, whose subject was "Vergil and the Modern Student."

New York—Brooklyn

The Latin Club at Grover Cleveland High School, Brooklyn, New York, held its annual festival Friday afternoon, October 28, in the Boys' Gymnasium. Six hundred and fifty students from annexes and main building, and thirty faculty members attended. A group of Latin students from a neighboring junior high school were special guests of honor.

The school orchestra played for dancing. Members of the club in fancy dress costume interpreted the oracle of Apollo in special booths to entertain younger members of the group. The play, *Pyramus and Thisbe*, was presented in a most enjoyable manner. Refreshments were served to all by special hostesses and hosts of the club. Miss Grace Light is chairman of the department.

Ohio

The OHIO CLASSICAL CONFERENCE held its seventeenth annual meeting in Columbus on Thursday, Friday, and Saturday, October 27-29, as the guest of Ohio State University and the public and private schools of Columbus. A wide variety of papers was presented by teachers of the private, public, and parochial schools and of the colleges and universities of the state on subjects ranging from practical problems and objectives of the teaching of Latin to the broader matters of historical and literary criticism. President Edwin L. Findley, of Fenn College, gave the presidential address, following the banquet, on the subject "Isocrates on Education." Professor W. T. Semple, of the University of Cincinnati, showed some slides to illustrate the more informal side of the life of the archaeologists who this year brought to a close their excavations on the site of Troy. The secretary announced the completion of the endowment fund which will permanently secure the work and program of the Conference. The new officers for the coming year are as follows: president, Professor Arthur M. Young, of the University of Akron; first vice-president, Father A. M. Zamiara, of Xavier University; second vice-president, Miss Maurine Abbott, of Shaker Heights Junior High School; secretary-treasurer, Professor John N. Hough, of Ohio State University; chairman of county representatives, Miss Ruth Dunham, of Mansfield High School.

Central Ohio Teachers' Association

At the meeting of the LATIN SECTION of the CENTRAL OHIO TEACHERS' ASSOCIATION, held on November 4 in Columbus, Professor Dwight N. Robin-

son, of Ohio Wesleyan University, spoke on "An Ancient Greek Romance," and Miss Ruby J. Etter, of Lancaster High School, gave an address on "Latin, Language, Life."

The Aegean Cruise, August 4-22, 1938.

At the close of the summer session of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens in August, the director, Dr. Louis E. Lord, of Oberlin College, acted as the conductor of a cruise which proved as interesting as it was amazing, even to the most seasoned traveler among the sixty-six passengers on board the S.S. *Socrates*. A list of the sites is enough to give an idea of the scope and technical difficulties of the cruise: Andros, Scyros, Thasos, Samothrace, Istanbul, Troy, Pergamum, Smyrna, Sardis, Ephesus, Priene, Miletus, Didyma, Halicarnassus, Cos, Samos, Patmos, Rhodes, Lindus, Cyprus, Thera, Melos, Seriphos, Aegina. Each site, as it was visited, assumed an individuality of its own, partly through direct observation, partly through the interpretation of lecturers who were members of the group. Among these lecturers were the *agora* staff of Athens; Professor M. H. Swindler, of Bryn Mawr; Dean H. L. Crosby, of the University of Pennsylvania; Dr. Stevens, former Director of the American Academy in Rome; Dr. Lord, and others. The members of the cruise, without exception, felt that this had been one of the richest and most memorable experiences of their lives.